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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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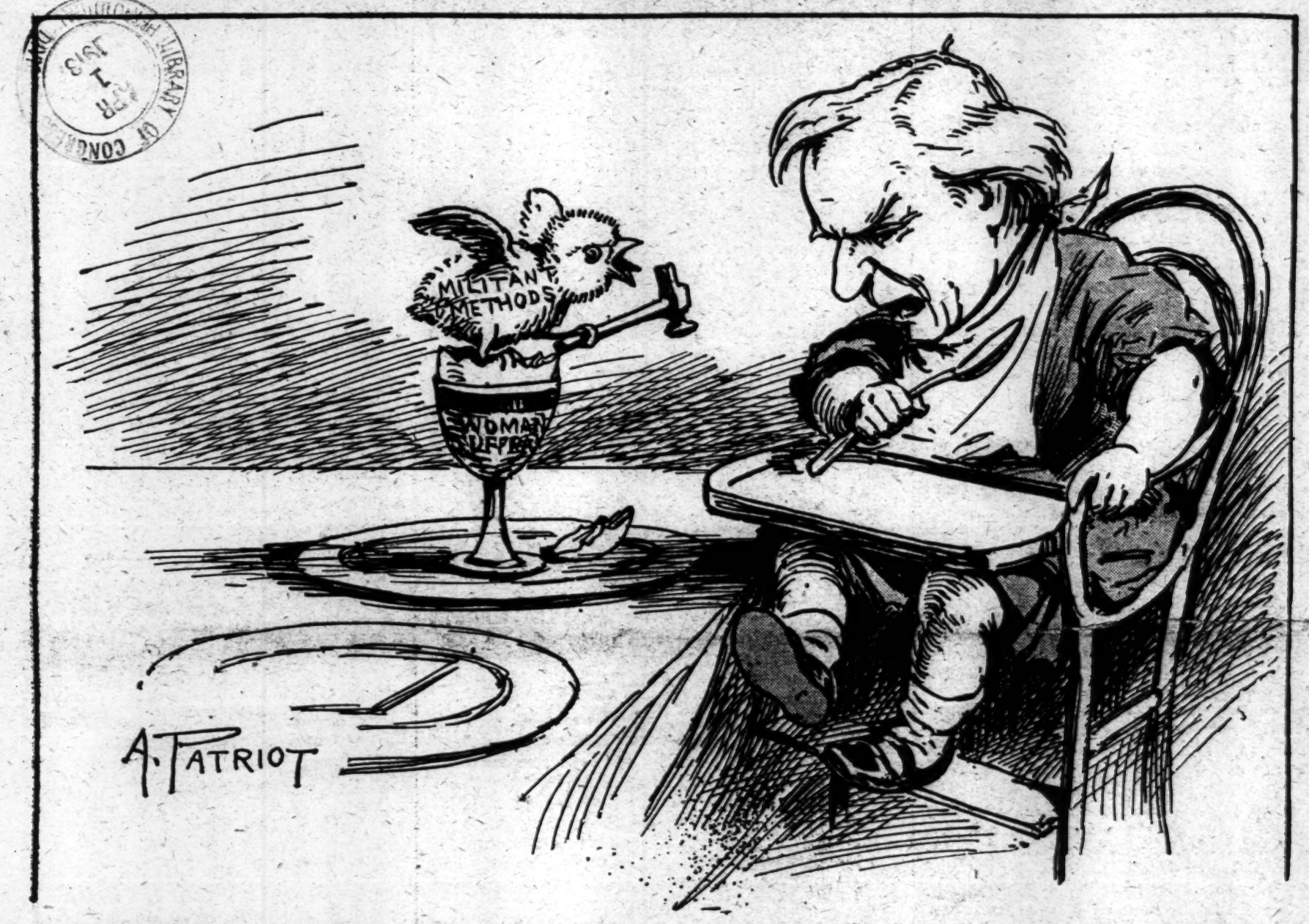
MASTER HERBERT'S EASTER EGG



MASTER HERBERT (losing his temper): "Boo-hoo! I don't like this egg. It has been sat on too long!"

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The most important event of the week is the passage of a resolution by the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation regarding with the "deepest disappointment" the failure of the promised facilities on the Reform Bill, protesting that the facilities now offered are "an inadequate compensation for the pledge of the Prime Minister," and recording its belief that "only a Government measure will now serve to bring this reform into law."

Hendon Women Liberals Threaten Revolt

In England, also, there are signs that the reactionary policy of the Government will not much longer be tolerated. The Hendon W.L.A. has passed a resolution regretting that only a private Member's Bill, with no promise of Government support, is offered to women, adding that under these circumstances a "free, unfettered vote on this question is hard to obtain." In the event of the Bill being defeated on its second reading, the Hendon W.L.A. invites "all Associations affiliated to the Home Counties Union to send up resolutions to the W.L.F. Council meeting declaring their intention of abstaining for the next General Election from parliamentary work unless some measure of woman suffrage has been granted before then."

A Campaign of Violence

While the Press is denouncing in the most vivid language the actions of women who have been driven to desperation by the continued chicanery of politicians, it sees excuse for men who are guilty of the most cowardly attacks upon women. Thus the *Westminster Gazette*, in a leading note in its issue of March 17, says of the scenes in Hyde Park on the previous day: "We deplore these scenes of violence, but it would be affectation to pretend that there is anything to be surprised at in this retort in kind." The actual facts at which the *Westminster* sees "nothing to be surprised at" are reported on the same page as follows:—

> Mrs. Drummond struggled on gamely, but not a word in a speech of nearly half an hour's duration was audible to the crowd. She had only been speaking about a minute when somebody threw a large clod of grass at her, the missile finding its mark. This was the signal for a veritable fusillade, which was apportioned between Mrs. Drummond and another lady speaker. Mrs. Drummond was hit on a number of occasions, some of the clods, which had been thrown with considerable force, striking her in the face.

We have only to add that these attacks are not, as the *Westminster* maintains, a "retort in kind," for while the women who are suffering from a grave political grievance confine themselves to attacks on property, the men who are not themselves suffering from any grievance whatever attack the persons of the women.

A "Suffragette-Hunting" Throng

The *Standard* devotes nearly a column, in which not a single word of disapproval occurs, to a highly-coloured account of these outrages, which are told with a gusto reminiscent of a story written for boys of some successful foray against savages or wild beasts instead of the baiting of exceptionally courageous British women. The writer says:—

> Miss Rogers and Miss Wickham were hit repeatedly with turf and eggs, but continued undismayed, dodging the missiles when they could.

He then describes how the meeting was concluded by the police, and proceeds:—

> Mrs. Drummond was rushed into the Marble Arch Tube Station with a shouting, angry mob fighting with

the police and yelling, "Take her to the Serpentine!" Miss Rogers was set upon by the crowd near the Arch, collapsed on the side walk, and was rescued just as it seemed that her clothes would be torn from her. . . . Two of the women were rescued by the police after being severely mauled and their clothing torn, and escorted to the tube station. . . . The Suffragettes had their coats and hats torn, and one had an eye blackened by a missile.

At one place he speaks of the "suffragette-hunting throng," and in another he says disparagingly of these brave women that "not even their yearning for martyrdom kept them from availing themselves of the protection which the railway offered in the way of a barricade."

A Contrast

By a curious irony, at the foot of the column in the *Standard* in which these events are described appears a paragraph in which an account is given of a woman who was arrested and sentenced to pay a fine of 40s. or in default to serve one month's imprisonment for throwing a pot of paint at the Home Office, as the result of which no one was hurt and not a single pennyworth of damage was done. It is thus apparent that an attempt at injury to property by a woman is regarded as a more serious offence than the actual injury of the persons of women by young hooligans. Yet we are told that women are favoured by the law. What humbug it all is!

Police Protection

We cannot leave this subject without touching on one more aspect of it which is frequently put forward by opponents, who seek to make capital out of the fact that women accept the protection of the police on these occasions. This, they say, proves how illogical the Suffragettes are, and how their case breaks down. It proves nothing of the kind. The police are paid for by all sections of the public (Suffragettes included), and they exist to protect every individual of the public from outrage at the hands of others. Because a motorist breaks the law (and boasts that he breaks it and evades the police), no one suggests that he should be debarred from calling the police to his aid when attacked by a burglar. And equally, because some women break the law for a definite political purpose, that does not free the police from the duty of giving them protection, nor does it debar women from availing themselves of it.

The Forcible Feeding Scandal

In spite of almost universal protest, the forcible feeding scandal continues, and as we go to Press some six or seven of the Suffragists now in prison, including Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, are undergoing this barbarous torture daily. We publish in full on page 353, the able and conclusive answer of three eminent physicians, Dr. Agnes Savill, Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., and Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., to the evasive and inaccurate statements made in the Press and in the House of Commons by Mr. McKenna. Last Tuesday afternoon, when the House of Commons went into Committee on the Civil Service Estimates, Mr. Harold Smith moved a reduction of the Home Office Vote in order to call attention to the ineptitude and maladministration of the department in respect to the Suffragist disturbances. He characterised forcible feeding as "a most barbaric and cruel" proceeding, and asked Mr. McKenna whether he had no other remedy to offer to the House. Lord Robert Cecil, speaking of forcible feeding as "utterly indefensible," blamed the Government for not using some imagination and so realising the kind of people they had to deal with.

The Home Secretary's Reply

Mr. McKenna, in the reply to the attack made upon him, urged that the difficulty lay in dealing with women "who no more feared death in fighting this battle than the Soudanese savages who fought under the Mahdi." After this tribute to the Suffragettes he maintained that the only way to break the movement was to exercise "patience, forbearance, and humanity," and in the same breath justified the continuance of forcible feeding! Finally, he foreshadowed legislation on the ticket-of-leave system. His answer pleased nobody.

Items of Interest

Though it is notorious that the Liberal Party and the Cabinet itself are acutely divided on the question of the reform of the House of Lords, a Government measure with this object in view is definitely promised for next session. Those who have been content to accept the specious plea of "Cabinet differences" for inaction with regard to woman suffrage will do well to bear this in mind.

In the course of the Labour deputation to Mr. Asquith on Tuesday last, Mr. Walkden said that unless the State acquired the railways the people would be driven to something more than Syndicalism and the methods adopted by women during the past few years.

We ask our readers to help this paper by introducing it to new people and by inducing them to become regular subscribers to it. How many new readers can you secure during the Easter holiday?

WOMEN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By Mrs. Annie Levy

It has been proved that in early English history woman occupied every public position that was open to man, being Mayoress, Deaconess, Feudal Lady, holding and controlling her own estates, Freewoman of the City, &c. Women also had most of the learning and education of the day, the men being occupied as warriors.

These rights have been gradually wrested from them, in the change from the feudal system to the commercial and industrial system. The limp and insipid women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the product of the narrow lives led by them after the overthrow of feudalism, when they no longer took such an active part in public life as before. It was particularly in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the passing of the Reform Bills, that the great differentiation was established and women were expressly excluded from participating in the power to vote.

It is proposed to show in this small sketch that women had equal rights with men much further back than in early English history. This equality is as ancient as the Holy Bible itself, for this abounds in incidents which prove that the rights of women were fully recognised.

The Earliest Rebel Women

The earliest record of women's rights is to be found in the story of the daughters of Zelophehad, in Numbers xxvii. While the Israelites were travelling in the wilderness Zelophehad died and left no "male" descendant. His five daughters found themselves deprived of their inheritance, but they were women of intelligence and independent spirit, and felt the unfairness of this decision. They accordingly came before Moses, before the priests and the whole congregation, to plead for justice. "Why should our father's name be done away from among his family because he hath no son?" "Give unto us, therefore, a possession among the brethren of our father." In other words, they asked that the same right to inherit should be given to daughters as to sons. Sex should be no disqualification in the rights of inheritance.

We read further that Moses inquired of the Lord, for such a circumstance had not arisen before. He did not ignore the women, or refuse them the right of deputation, but listened to their grievance carefully and inquired of the Lord. God in His justice gave the answer that "The daughters of Zelophehad speak right. Thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them." Nay the Lord went even further than that, and told Moses to make it a statute for the people, and to tell the children of Israel that it be known if a man die and leave no son, his inheritance shall be given unto his daughter. If God had intended the woman to be regarded as inferior to the man, He would not have ordered such a law to be established. Here we find no record of the inequalities of the sexes, but the fullest justice being meted out to these women. Not only had these brave women won their own rights, but by their sensible and courageous action secured this right to future generations of women wherever the *law* of the Bible held sway. It was man who, much later, trespassed on sacred ground. The teachings of the Bible were ignored and forgotten by man, and with them his acceptance of woman as his equal, as one who could share his privileges as well as his sorrows, his true partner in life.

As Owners of Property

For an example of the law in reference to the "Married Woman's Property Act," the incident of Caleb's daughter must be related (Joshua xv. 16). Caleb had promised his daughter Achsah to wife to any young man who was successful in taking Kirjath Sepher and defeating the Anaks, men who were considered as giants in the eyes of the Israelites. Now Othniel, Caleb's younger brother, was fortunate enough to accomplish this feat, and received for his prowess Achsah as a wife. It does not mention any property that Othniel received with his wife, but it tells us that Achsah moved her husband to ask her father for a field or a piece of land. This suggestion came from her, to secure some land in her own rights for her husband. Caleb granted the request and then we find she herself comes and pleads for springs of water from her father, explaining that land without water in such a climate is useless. Caleb immediately answered the pleadings of his daughter and gave her the "upper and the nether springs." If women could not inherit property on their account, Achsah would not have asked this boon of her father, nor come to claim it herself. Her husband, of his own accord, would have come before her father and claimed it as his right.

For the most notable incident in the Bible which proves that when women had the abilities they were allowed equally with men the opportunities of using them and rising to the highest position in the land, the life of Deborah can be quoted. Here we find that a woman was allowed to fill the proud, honourable, and responsible position of a "judge in Israel," that she judged for forty years, and under her rule the land had peace. What numerous qualifications she must have possessed to gain the confidence and goodwill of her people, that they harkened unto her voice and were guided by her judgments! She was certainly a clever stateswoman and great national leader. But not alone in statesmanship did she excel; but this remarkable woman was a poetess, prophetess, a sacred singer in Israel and military instructor combined. In every phase of public life that concerned the weal of her people she was fully competent to take part and guide them aright. She was a woman, and, what is more, we are expressly reminded she was "a *mother* in Israel," yet she was allowed every freedom to devote her life to her people, to hold such an important public office as a judge, and to place her wonderful talents at the service of her nation.

Her private life was not interfered with; she sat under her vineyard, and people came to be judged; nor was her public judgment any the less valuable because she was a "*mother*"; indeed, it may be safely asserted, it gained considerably in its importance from that very fact. For many traits in human nature are the better known and appreciated by those who have entered motherhood. To a mother has been revealed the great secret of entering into the life of another being so fully, and having such an insight into its character, as to make it possible to guide aright to future greatness. That Deborah was withal "a mother in Israel" was but another asset to her great qualifications.

These instances of equality in the Bible could be multiplied, but I think I have shown, by taking these very early examples, that everywhere the Word of God stands out in the Old Testament, boldly asserting the truth that in His sight all are equal, men and women all equally, deserving of His great earthly gifts, and of His loving kindness and tender mercy—all equally inspired with the power to rise to the greatest, intellectual, moral, and spiritual development.

TO ALL GOOD SPORTS

They've put an end to fighting-cocks,
To baiting bear and bull;
There's no sport left for jolly lads,
Old England's growing dull.

To see a footer champion maimed
Is but a first-class spree,
And 'tisn't more than once a year
We maul a referee.

Or if a pair of lively boys
Strip for a thousand pound,
Some sneaking parson fool is sure
To drive 'em off the ground.

Now paraffining pussy's coat
Will make you feel the rod,
And crackers at a horse's tail
May land you snug in quod.

But changing times bring changing sport
We've raised another quarry,
We're out to stop the women's jaw
And overturn their lorry.

When first they took up politics
And claimed a right to think,
We let loose mice to frighten them
And smoked them out with stink.

And when they imitated men
By heckling at our meetings,
We throttled 'em and tore their hair,
And some of them got beatings.

They stuck it just a bit too long,
It's our turn now for fun;
We've got the bally Suffragette,
And we'll keep her, on the run.

Now if she's speaking in the street,
Or any other place,
Bring up your eggs or clods of turf
And hit her in the face.

March up, brave boys! By hundreds charge!
Upset her on the ground!
Then sit upon her head and twist
Her elbow gently round.

March in from all your clubs an' pubs,
And toot your motor horn,
For new sport came to Englishmen
When Suffragettes were born.

Bert.

BOOKS AND DRAMA

IMPRISONMENT AND PRISON REFORM

Militant Suffragists as Prison Reformers

Each stage in civilisation demands its sacrifice. Public opinion only moves with a wrench, and is to-day especially bewildered by a sensation-seeking, party-mad, and omnipresent journalism. Contemporary progress has called for, and tolerates, the imprisonment of large numbers of public-spirited women, whose presence and experiences in our gaols will amaze the chroniclers to come. One thing is certain—future philanthropists and prison reformers will no longer be able to treat of prison as a mechanism for regenerating the bad. They will have to take increasingly into account that prisons are too often used as a brutish means of recording the limits of contemporary intelligence; and with that will go the slavish reverence for "law and order." Laws will be seen as a mere statement of a minimum of progress; and an order which is based on insensibility will not be admired. So we find Mr. Tighe Hopkins, in his extremely interesting book,* pointing out, in a chapter on "The Case of the Women," the good done by the presence of militant Suffragists in our gaols. He says:—

> The women's prisons, until the suffragettes went into them, and stunned the ears of the public, had received but the scantiest illumination.

And again:—

> The suffragettes as prisoners have played a valiant and profitable part.

He details some of the reforms brought about by their imprisonment—the appointment of a medical woman inspector, the improved ventilation, the kinder and more human tone throughout the institution. But of course the main work of the Suffragettes in this department has been a complete indictment of our prison system. The great possibilities of cruelty under that system were not publicly realised until good and courageous women rebelled. Of the political hunger strike and what followed it, Mr. Hopkins speaks with horror. He says (p. 253):—

> The Government, put to a pass, decided to end the hunger-strike by force. The women who refused to feed were to be fed. . . . I willingly slur the particulars. They may be studied in the three books I have cited, where the display of them is eminently proper. The forcible feeding was a modified form of torture; about this, when the sky is clear, there will scarcely be dispute. "Question by water" was honoured by time until close upon the French Revolution.

Forcible feeding, he adds, was "a late improvement of our own."

One must be excused for dwelling upon this portion of one chapter at a length that is out of all proportion to its place in Mr. Hopkins' book. But it is a point that may be taken as typical of the thoughtful and sympathetic understanding displayed in every page. It is hardly necessary to say that the whole idea of imprisonment comes in for criticism. The chapter entitled "Imprisonment and Failure" should be read by every magistrate and every judge, and by the hosts of timid men who regard "the law" as their protection. Imprisonment of so-called criminals has failed (as figures show), and must fail, because it is based on an unrighteous conception of the relations between human beings. Who fill our prisons to-day, classed as "ordinary criminals"? The unfit, the sickly, the unfortunate, the victims of our civilisation, the poor—above all, the poor. If we are going to speak of crime and criminals, it must be explained why so great a proportion of our "criminals" belong to the poorer classes. To the rich we do not apply a strict code of personal morality; but to that class in which we find the most wonderful virtue, self-control and endurance we do apply a rule that is cruelly hard. Laws and administration inspired by selfish fear are bound to create more evil than they serve to put out of sight. "Imprisonment," says our author,

> as a penalty, has failed. Proof abounds that it has neither reformed nor deterred the criminal. It could not possibly do so: deterrent punishment and a serious effort to reform the criminal are quite incompatible aims.

The most interesting experiments in prison reform come from America; but from there also comes that system of mental torture which differs only in area from the physical torture of mediæval times. We hope we are mistaken in thinking that Mr. Hopkins may approve of those psychological tests and electrical tests. The entire chapter headed "Preventive" can only fill one with a cold horror. The methods described are not preventive of crime, but rather creative of licensed criminals, since they induce one section of mankind to act as bloodhounds to another section. Ingenuity begets ingenuity; the "criminal" will arm himself with the weapons of his hunter, and so the circle of evil completes itself.

All those interested in prison reform, and within that class come all Suffragists, ought to read this illuminating and comprehensive study.

J. E. M. B.

* "Wards of the State: An Unofficial View of Prison and the Prisoners." (London: Herbert and Daniel. 10s. 6d.)

AN ETHICAL MANUAL

We have so often praised Messrs. Jack's series of "People's Books," which are both cheap and catholic, that we are the more sorry that the present volume, "The Training of the Child,"* was not more distinctively entitled "The *Ethical* Training of Children." For the booklet is without those foundations on which most training is built, and would therefore be useless to most parents, however welcome to those who belong to an Ethical Society such as the author approves. For instance, there are, one would imagine, few parents who would care to impress on the expanding brain as the basis for the higher life of the future, such doggerel as the suggested ethical exercise for morning and evening:—

> First and last my thoughts shall be,
> Love to show to all I see;
> Love to show to all I see,
> First and last my thoughts shall be.

Or this ethical exercise for meal times:—

> Together to eat,
> Each other to meet,
> As comrades to share,
> Foul weather or fair,
> Love we.

There is a literature of ethics; there are morning and evening exercises which include the most beautiful and elevating phrases that have ever been given to the human race; and those of us who can look back on a childhood, when the mind was fed with the "Our Father" and the glorious poetry of the Psalms, have much to be thankful for.

* By G. Spiller. (London: H. and E. C. Jack. 6d.)

BOOKS RECEIVED

"A Survey of the Women Problem." By Rosa Mayreder. (London: Heinemann. Price 5s. net.)

"The Case of Isabel Sibyl." By Sibyl Kerr. (International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand, W.C. Price 1s.)

"Married Women and Income Tax." (Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Price 3d.)

"William Morris." By Mrs. Townshend. (Fabian Society, 3, Clements Inn, W.C. Price 2d.)

"John Stuart Mill." By Julius West. (Fabian Society, 3, Clements Inn, W.C. Price 2d.)

THE PLAY ACTORS

The trouble with Mr. Cecil Clifton's play, "Those Suburbans," is that the author was not content to leave it frankly farcical. It is called "A Family Comedy for Young People," and a family comedy is generally no joke. But the Play Actors played it excellently at the Court Theatre last Monday, and by insisting, as Mr. Sebastian Smith quite properly did, that the note was farcical, a lot of real fun was extracted. The second act, when the Brown Family discover that Alice, the elder daughter (Miss Helena Parsons), has disappeared, and learn that she has gone off for a day and night to Eastbourne with Jasper Jennings (Mr. J. Napper), one of the two gentlemen boarders, a youthful but distinctly bold and bad Socialist, was vastly entertaining, and even jaded dramatic critics laughed quite wholesomely. For at all costs the disappearance must be kept dark and hushed up for fear of the scandal. And then prosperous Leonard Seabury (Mr. Alfred Harris), to whom Alice had been engaged for mercenary reasons at her parents' desire, turns up and explains that he knows all about the erring daughter's exploit! In the last act we drop from honest farce to speech-making, for Jennings and Alice return quite calmly a few days later, and then comes talk on marriage and respectability in the inevitable way, and Jennings, we must own up, bores us, especially when he rages in despair on finding out that Alice's uncle (Mr. Fewlass Llewellyn), a cheery old swindler, has, in the capacity of trustee, absorbed Alice's £200 in his motor business, and gone bankrupt. To face married life with Alice on a miserable £2 a week frightens him, and it is only on the fall of the curtain that Alice seems to have bucked him up. The scene of the goings-on of this happy suburban family is Islington—"Merrie Islington"; but even in the happy homes of Islington (and anything might happen in Islington) it is improbable that after family prayers on a Sunday morning the "Winning Post" and the "Pink 'Un" would be lying on the drawing-room table for all to read. That is too farcical. There are many witty remarks in the play, and many digs at suburban morality. The acting was capital. Perhaps Miss Irene Moncrieff, as Mrs. Brown, overdid it a trifle, but Mr. Sebastian Smith, as the father of the family, kept things lively all the time in first-rate style. Maud (Miss Dulcie Greatwich), the younger daughter, and Percy (Mr. Hubert Woodwood), the hopeful son of the Brown household, contributed to the gaiety of the performance, and so did Mr. Clifton Alderson as a German boarder full of Schopenhauer. But the author must make up his mind whether "Those Suburbans" is a farce or a comedy, for the two things don't blend altogether satisfactorily.

J. C.

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SCOTTISH WOMEN LIBERALS AND THE VOTE

A Government Measure Demanded—Mr. Asquith's Honour a Little "Dimmed"

The annual Council meeting of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation was held in the Charing Cross Halls, Glasgow, at the end of last week. Miss H. E. Waddel, of Pollokshields, presided, and 350 delegates were present. A striking feature of the proceedings on Friday, when the Council meeting was opened, were the number of Suffrage resolutions on the agenda. These were no fewer than eleven in number; but by arrangement several of these were afterwards withdrawn in favour of one put forward by the executive, which was carried after a slight discussion. It read as follows:—

> That this Council regards with deepest disappointment the failure of the promised facilities for women's suffrage amendments to the Government Franchise Bill. It protests that the facilities now offered are an inadequate compensation for the pledge of the Prime Minister, and, while resolving to use every opportunity given to the best advantage, it records the belief that only a Government measure will now serve to bring this reform into law.

The presidential speech was occupied almost entirely with the question of Woman Suffrage. Some criticism of militant methods was offered, but reference was made to the treatment which has been meted out to the militant suffragists; and there was equally strong criticism of language used by Liberals at the meeting held the previous day by the National Liberal Federation in England.

At the "At Home" held in the evening at the Liberal Club, Woman Suffrage was again the chief subject of discussion in the various speeches made both by men and women Liberals.

At Friday morning's sitting of the Council, after passing resolutions congratulating the Government on passing the three measures introduced by them last session, and after some discussion on a Temperance resolution, which was then passed, the Council proceeded to consider the question of the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Collie moved, on behalf of Dundee and District Association, "that this Council firmly maintains the right of women to the Parliamentary franchise on a broad basis, and waits in confidence to have that right recognised by the Liberal party."

"Shoulder to Shoulder with our Sisters"

After a reference to the treatment meted out to the militant women, she said: "Let us stand shoulder to shoulder with our other sisters, whatever methods they take. We are all working for one end." (Applause.) She was not, she added, advocating militant methods, because they could all pat themselves on the back and feel that, without the vote, it was the women of Britain, and more especially of Scotland, who had brought about the Temperance Bill, the prison reforms which they had obtained, and also the Children Act.

Miss Scotland, Dundee, seconded, remarking that it was high time that that reform was taken from the agenda papers of conferences and put on the Statute Book of the nation. (Hear, hear.) This question was ripe for action, and must be taken up and dealt with by this present Government. They were not prepared to wait till the franchise was extended to all men.

Miss M'Culloch said that she thought Mrs. Collie's remarks were more an apology for the militant suffragists than a speech on the resolution. (Cries of "No.")

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Another Suffrage Speech

At the afternoon sitting, Miss Waddel, who moved the adoption of the Annual Report, spoke almost entirely on the Suffrage, beginning with the remark that when their Federation came into existence it was chiefly concerned with two issues—Irish Home Rule and Women's Suffrage. They felt glad that a certain measure of Home Rule was within sight for Ireland. That it was not as full self-government as Irish women had a right to expect they all regretted, but they were glad that Irish nationalism was at last coming into its own. (Applause.) The question of women's suffrage was a matter on which it was extremely difficult for a Liberal woman to say all she thought without hurting the feelings of some other Liberals, but she wanted to repudiate such language as was used the previous day in the National Liberal Federation in England by a man who spoke as if all women were engaged in fighting their best friends. There were, she regretted to say, some women who were fighting real friends of women's suffrage.

"Not to Condemn or to Judge"

She was not there either to condemn or to judge these women. The methods which they used she did think were disastrous to themselves and to the cause they all held dear, but she wanted to ask whether it was wise on the part of politicians and statesmen to pay more deference to the foolish or even criminal acts of a few women than they paid to the earnest work and the loyal devotion of thousands of others. She thought it was putting a premium on anarchy as against law and order. They (the Women Liberals) stood for law and order. It seemed to her that a Liberalism which opposed them with the ancient Tory argument that the enfranchisement of women would be against the interests of women and the State held in itself the elements of inevitable decay, since it failed to keep in touch with the outward movement of humanity and with the wide outlook into the future which alone were consonant with growth and life. They were asking not merely that they should have votes. They ought to realise that women were not foolish enough to suppose that women's enfranchisement was the key to paradise. As practical women they knew very well that the vote would not do everything for them any more than it had for men.

Mrs. Greig (Windygates, Fife) seconded, and the report was adopted.

"The One Stumbling-block"

Mrs. Bliss (Lancashire) conveyed the greetings of 130,000 Liberal women in England, and expressed the view that women's suffrage was the one stumbling-block in the way of social legislation.

Several resolutions on the question of Woman Suffrage, which had been submitted, were then withdrawn, in favour of the following one, which was moved by the President on behalf of the Executive:

"That this Council regards with deepest disappointment the failure of the promised facilities for women's suffrage amendments to the Government Franchise Bill. It protests that the facilities now offered are an inadequate compensation for the pledge of the Prime Minister, and, while resolving to use every opportunity given to the best advantage, it records the belief that only a Government measure will now serve to bring this reform into law."

Mrs. Boag Watson (Edinburgh) seconded, and a lively discussion followed, in the course of which Mrs. Wood (Kilmacolm) said they were agreed that the reform must come along the lines of party, and they wished to see a Liberal Government add that crowning glory to the things already done for widening the bounds of freedom.

"A Little Dimness"

Mrs. Hutchison (Dumfries) also spoke, and denied that this was a sex war. She was married to the best man in the world—(laughter)—and she thought the women ought to stand shoulder to shoulder with the men in that movement. There would be a little dimness on Mr. Asquith's honour until he fulfilled his pledge.

The resolution was then adopted, after which Miss M'Culloch (Ayr) moved that the Council, "while dissociating itself from the action of the militant suffragettes, and deploring the effect of that action on the cause of women's suffrage, desires to urge upon the Government the justice of woman's claim to a Parliamentary vote, and respectfully calls upon the Government to take such steps as will ensure, within the lifetime of the present Parliament, the recognition by legislation of that claim." To this the previous question was moved, but on a division the resolution was carried by a large majority.

On the motion of Miss Pearson (St. Andrews), seconded by Mrs. Stout (St. Andrews), a further resolution was passed urging the Government, in any future measure of electoral reform, to include a clause to extend the franchise to women.

Militant Methods Again

In the evening the delegates were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Macnair, at an "At Home" in the Liberal Club. Mr. Macnair, in welcoming the delegates, referred to the fact that the associations in the federation numbered 166, with a membership of 23,940. Alluding to the prominence which had been given in recent years to the question of votes for women, he said he believed that the members of the Federation were non-militant, and he observed that the executive in their report called upon them to use resolute and wise action in connection with this matter. That was excellent advice, as he thought the violent means which were being adopted were in many ways keeping back the movement.

Mr. J. Duncan Millar, M.P., in a brief address, said the women of Scotland had best shown their claim to the vote on equal terms with men by the splendid loyal support they had given to the Liberal Government, and he believed it was in that way that they would in the end secure not only the vote, but the respect of all right-thinking men. Addresses were also given by Mrs. Bliss (English Women's Liberal Federation) and Bailie Pratt.

"A STRAIGHT VOTE THIS TIME"

At Saturday's session Mrs. McKinnon Wood, wife of the Secretary for Scotland, made a speech to the delegates, in the course of which she thanked the Federation for electing her their President, and then went on to say, with regard to Woman Suffrage, that they had lately a very great surprise and a very great disappointment. It was not necessary to discuss what might have been the result of the vote which they expected to have taken. Rather should they now unite their efforts and influence to get a good vote upon that Bill which their friends were to introduce this session. (Cheers.) She thought it would be important to ask members of Parliament to give a straight vote this time. It could not be said, as was often done previously by members, that they could not vote for the Bill because it interfered with other things. This Women's Suffrage Bill must not interfere with other things. Every Women's Liberal Assocation ought to see that they did something definite before the Bill came on, but they must not in any way try to do anything which would alienate the support they already possessed.

ENGLISH WOMEN LIBERALS

NORTH OF ENGLAND WOMEN LIBERALS

At the Spring Conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations, held on March 12 at Chorley, Woman Suffrage was the subject of the most animated debate, though the resolution passed was not a strong one. It ran as follows:—

"That this meeting, while deeply regretting that the Government has not undertaken to introduce a Bill for the enfranchisement of women this session in view of the opportunity lost by the withdrawal of the Reform Bill to get some instalment of women's suffrage, resolves heartily to support the Women's Suffrage Bill to be introduced this session in the hope that with the assistance guaranteed by the Prime Minister for such Bills some women may be enfranchised before the termination of the present Parliament; so that the removal of sex-disability with regard to the Parliamentary franchise shall be no longer delayed."

Mrs. Stewart Brown, in moving it, said she did not share the feeling expressed by many keen suffragists that Mr. Asquith was culpable because the women's suffrage amendments were ruled out of order. It was the Speaker, and only the Speaker, who was to blame for that. (Hear, hear.)

"Hopefulness for the Future"

Their present position was one of disappointment that no women had yet been registered as Parliamentary electors, but of hopefulness for the future, because in place of the amendments to the Reform Bill they had the pledge of the Prime Minister that facilities would be given for a private member's Bill this session dealing with women's suffrage. That was no empty pledge, and she regretted that non-party women's suffrage associations were not going to give any active support to the Bill, which they had good hopes of seeing passed this session. Still, the patience of Liberal women was being sorely tried, and in some cases exhausted. (Hear, hear.) Every day they were losing some of their most stalwart Liberal women workers. There were younger members of Liberal families who would have nothing to do at present with Liberal associations, and were throwing their energies into suffrage, though not necessarily militant, organisations. She knew of four well-known families in which this was occurring. (Hear, hear.)

Two Rebel Dissentients

The resolution was carried, but with two dissentients, who made good and forcible speeches.

Miss Crossfield said she could not share this confidence in the good results following on a private member's Bill. As the result of recent events they had lost the promise of the backing of the Government. They were rather being dealt with as though they were children—it was a case of the soother instead of the bottle. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) There had been so much machination, trickery, roguery. There had been ratting, private canvassing, all sorts of talk about embarrassing Mr. Asquith. Still, though she could put little confidence in it, they must, she supposed, work for the private member's Bill. But if it did not get through she hoped they would go on strike. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

"Brass Buttons for Gold"

Mrs. Conway (Didsbury) was also convinced that Mr. Asquith was not to blame for the Franchise Bill being dropped, but the unfairness of the situation consisted in a man's saying, "I can't pay my debt in sovereigns, so you must take brass buttons"—brass buttons, which are not sterling coinage at all. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Asquith was their one indomitable foe, but he had not shown himself deaf to argument, and the cynicism which would not stand in the way of a "national disaster" if the House of Commons invited it might still be his attitude two or three years hence. She asked whether they were not standing in the way of a Government measure by working for a Bill which would probably be unsatisfactory and even futile.

The Usual Condemnation

Mrs. Broadhurst (Royton) then moved a resolution condemning the tactics of the militant suffragists as calculated to alienate support from the movement and to damage the cause both in the country and the House of Commons.

Mrs. Smethurst (Ashton-under-Lyne) seconded the resolution, and it was supported by Mrs. Cooper (Blackburn), who said that in Blackburn they were intending to run one or two women candidates for the Board of Guardians, but that it was impossible in the state of feeling created by the militants to get the voters to put them in. There were 2,000 Liberal women in Blackburn, and they felt they could not too strongly condemn the action of the militants. Still, she hoped that the time would come when women's Liberal associations would turn themselves into suffrage societies if nothing was done. ("Hear, hear.")

Militant Champions

Two members who took part in the debate on this resolution spoke strongly against condemning another body of women.

Mrs. Todd (Preston) said she found no greater difficulty as the secretary of a suffrage society than militancy. But she felt that if she had only done more for the cause there would have been no need for some women, exasperated by the mismanagement of the question, to take these desperate steps. She did not think that the whole moral responsibility rested upon the shoulders of the militants. The women's Liberal associations had decided to ask for a private member's Bill. "We have decided," she added, "not to cry for the moon, but to look in a dark room for a black hat. (Laughter.) But don't let us make the work harder for those women who are giving so much for the cause."

"Almost a Tragedy"

Mrs. Tattersall (Blackburn) followed on the same lines. These women, she said, had, at any rate, an intense feeling for the principle, and it was almost a tragedy that they should receive a vote of censure from another body of women like themselves.

The resolution was passed with two dissentients.

ANOTHER LIBERAL WOMEN'S THREAT

The Hendon Women's Liberal Association has passed a resolution recording its deep regret that the opportunity of incorporating a woman suffrage amendment into the Reform Bill has been lost by the Speaker's ruling, and that the only compensation offered by the Prime Minister is the promise of facilities for a Private Member's Bill, for which at no period will the Government assume responsibility, whilst it has been shown that a free, unfettered vote on this question is hard to obtain. The association recommends that in the event of a defeat of the Bill on second reading, all associations affiliated to the Home Counties Union send up resolutions for the Women's Liberal Federation Council meetings declaring their intention of abstaining, for the next General Election, from parliamentary work unless some measure of woman suffrage has been granted before then.

At Paddington

The following resolution has been passed unanimously by the Executive of the Paddington Women's Liberal Association:—"That this Association, while deeply deploring that the Government has not undertaken to introduce a Bill for the enfranchisement of women this session, resolves heartily to support the Women's Suffrage Bill to be introduced, in the hope that with the facilities guaranteed by the Prime Minister for such Bill some women may be enfranchised before the termination of the present Parliament, so that the removal of the sex disability with regard to the Parliamentary franchise shall be no longer delayed."

AGITATION AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

Eminent physicians protest against Home Secretary's statements—Important Debate in the House of Commons—Home Secretary at Bay

To the disgrace of the present Liberal Administration, forcible feeding still continues in Holloway Gaol, where it is believed that seven Suffragists (see page 357) are being subjected to this horrible operation, and also in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, where Mr. Hugh Franklin is undergoing it. There is, however, a growing public agitation on foot against the continuance of this barbarous practice, which found expression, after we went to press on Tuesday, in a great demonstration at the Kingsway Hall, London, at which the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Bernard Shaw, and Mr. Mansell-Moullin were among the speakers. In other ways, too, the public detestation of forcible feeding, as practised in our gaols, has been made evident during the week. Questions have been asked in the House of Commons, and an important debate on the same subject took place in the House as we went to press last Tuesday.

More correspondence has appeared in the Press, the most notable communication being one that is signed by Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., Dr. Agnes Savill, and Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S.

MISS LENTON'S CASE

Letter from Eminent Physicians

The following is the letter containing the very comprehensive medical statement of Miss Lenton's case, to which reference is made above:—

Sir,—The Home Secretary recently issued a formal statement in regard to the sudden release of Miss Lenton that she "was reported by the Medical Officer at Holloway Prison on Sunday, February 23, in a state of collapse and in imminent danger of death, consequent upon her refusal to take food. Three courses were open: (1) To leave her to die; (2) to attempt to feed her forcibly, which the medical officer advised would probably entail death in her exhausted condition; (3) to release her on her undertaking to surrender herself for the further hearing of her case. The Home Secretary adopted the last course."

From these expressions employed in this letter the public were completely misled as to the true facts of the case. She was certainly "in imminent danger of death" on that Sunday afternoon, but this was not due to her two days' fast, but to the fact that during forcible feeding, executed by the prison doctors on the Sunday morning, food was pourcd into her lungs.

"Constructively Misleading"

The statement issued from the Home Office, quoted above, was not only contrary to the facts, but was also constructively misleading, in that it made no mention whatever of the prisoner having been forcibly fed. In consequence of the real facts becoming generally known, Mr. Remnant, on March 13, asked the Home Secretary whether, during an attempt to feed the suffragist prisoner, Miss Lenton, the tube used was introduced into the trachea, thereby causing some of the liquid food to pass into the lung; whether Miss Lenton was thereupon released from prison, it being the opinion of the medical officer in charge that her life was in danger; and whether the doctor who examined her on her release found that pleurisy was present together with lung mischief.

To this question Mr. McKenna said "there was no foundation for the statement which has been made that the tube entered the trachea or that any food passed into the lung. . . . Miss Lenton's collapse occurred some hours after she was fed, and was due to the bad state of her health, aggravated by her refusal of food." Mr. McKenna admitted that he knew her own doctor had found her to be suffering from pleurisy.

The Facts of the Case

The facts of this case are as follows, and to any unprejudiced medical practitioner prove that the Home Secretary's attempted denial that Miss Lenton was nearly killed by the forcible feeding is worthless.

In the first place, Miss Lenton was seen in prison on Saturday afternoon, February 22, 1913, by her solicitor, Mr. Marshall, who reports that on that day he saw her officially on a matter connected with her impending trial. He found her then absolutely normal, in good spirits, and making light of her two days' fast. Yet on the following afternoon she was "in imminent danger of death," as admitted by the Home Office, and the only cause of which could be the forcible feeding, inflicted upon her that morning.

On Sunday morning, February 23, 1913, Miss Lenton was forcibly fed in Holloway Prison by Dr. Forward and another doctor and seven wardresses. She was tied into a chair and her head dragged backwards across the back of the chair by her hair, the usual prison method of "restraining" these prisoners. The tube was forced through the nose twice. No food could be got through it the first time, and after the second introduction, when the food was poured in, it caused violent choking, the breathing became very rattling and noisy, so that the doctor told her to breathe more quietly. The noise of the rattling was so loud that she actually was afraid it would alarm her fellow prisoner. Breathing was almost impossible, and she coughed violently and continuously, so that though the food was poured in twice it came back at once, and out of the mouth. When the tube was removed she fell against the wall and continued to cough; then great pain began, extending from the waist upwards and in front of the chest, and the rattling noise persisted. Three wardresses remained in the cell, and Miss Lenton was put on a mattress and pillow laid on the floor.

"Released at Once"

The pain became intense. The doctor was fetched. He examined her chest, and warned her not to sit up. He ordered hot bottles and blankets, gave her Bovril and brandy, and two hypodermic injections. He then left, and returned with the Governor, who said she should be released at once. The doctor then gave her another hypodermic injection (presumably for stimulation), saying it was necessary to enable her to stand the journey. She was carried in a chair to a taxi, and the prison doctor himself with a wardress took her to the house of a friend of hers. There they gave her more "stimulation" treatment, and carried her upstairs. The prison doctor said a local doctor must be fetched at once. This was done. That night her temperature was above 102 degrees, and she was gravely ill. Her own doctor found pleurisy (pleuro-pneumonia) at the base of the left lung and slighter symptoms in the right. He certified that her condition was serious until all complications had cleared up. Under his care she has slowly recovered, and is now convalescent.

These plain facts of Miss Lenton's case prove clearly that the food which was forcibly injected into her lung set up a pleuro-pneumonic condition which, but for her youth and good, healthy physique, would have ended more seriously.

That the prison doctor and the Governor recognised immediately what they had done is also obvious. They hurriedly and at the further risk of injury to the patient immediately removed her from the prison so that at least she should not die there and thus compromise the Home Office and the horrible prison administration of which they were the instruments.

A Similar Case in 1912

A precisely similar maltreatment of a suffragist prisoner occurred at Winson Green Prison, Birmingham, on June 24, 1912. (See our report on Forcible Feeding, *British Medical Journal*, August 31, 1913.) In that case also the food was injected into the lung, and caused forthwith the same alarming symptoms and agonising pain in the chest.

In that case also the patient was hurriedly thrust into a cab and sent with fever and pleurisy to a private house. Fortunately she, too, was young and strong, and gradually recovered after a convalescence at the seaside.

Physicians from asylums are constantly quoted as having fed so many hundreds or thousands of insane patients without danger and without any resulting injury; with, indeed, only improvement in the health of their patients. Such cases of lunatics have no parallelism with those of political prisoners. No one hears of patients from asylums who have undergone forcible feeding being discharged to their homes in the care of wardresses and doctors in danger of death consequent on the operation of forcible feeding. On the other hand, a very large number of the suffragist women, and also suffragist men, who have been fed in the prisons, have been hurriedly released by Mr. McKenna because of the danger to life which his forcible feeding either had involved or the prospect of it threatened.

The Public Should Not be Deluded

It is time, therefore, that the public should not be deluded by the continued statements of some asylum physicians into believing that the forcible feeding inflicted by prison doctors on suffragists can in any way be compared with the tube feeding of the insane. It is time also that the public should examine into the causes of the injurious results of forcible feeding as practised on suffragists in His Majesty's prisons. Indignation has been expressed in various newspapers that Miss Lenton and others should be released after a few days instead of several months' imprisonment. They do not appear to realise that our prisons are at this present time places of dangerous torture, and that a woman political prisoner can, by the ingenuity of the Home Office, be made to suffer in a few days a punishment not only equivalent to many months' imprisonment, but also involving a risk to life.—Yours faithfully,

AGNES SAVILL, M.D.
CHARLES MANSELL-MOULLIN, F.R.C.S.
VICTOR HORSLEY, F.R.S.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Last Tuesday afternoon, when the House went into Committee on the Civil Service Estimates, Mr. Harold Smith moved a reduction of £100 in the Home Secretary's salary in order to draw attention to what he called the ineptitude and inefficiency of the Home Secretary in dealing with recent outrages which had taken place in connection with the movement for Votes for Women.

Mr. Harold Smith asked what was the state of affairs with which they were faced at the present moment. In many parts of the country there was a rapid development of mob law. He submitted to the House that a very grave situation had arisen owing to the inefficiency of the Home Office. In his opinion the law as it stood was adequate to deal with the situation. But if it was not adequate the elementary duty of the Home Secretary was to come to the House and say that that was so, and to ask for powers necessary to deal with these outrages. Would the Home Secretary frankly say whether he thought that the law was adequate to deal with the situation? And if it was not adequate should he not take steps which were necessary to restore confidence in the operation of the law? The Home Secretary had stated that so far as he knew the figures were that fifty-five of these misguided women had been released from Holloway Prison since the beginning of last year. He told them incidentally that this included the great majority of such cases. He (Mr. Smith) suggested that that was not a fair answer. The fact was that out of every hundred women convicted of these outrages twenty-eight had been released before their sentences expired. That was a very grave situation, which he thought had never been appreciated. Could the Home Secretary give the House any assurance that the state of things in this matter with regard to the administration of the law was not rapidly becoming a farce? (Cheers.)

"A Disgrace to the Capital"

What did they find going on in Hyde Park every Sunday? The meetings which were held there were a scandal and a disgrace to their capital, and it was a disgrace to any civilised community that this state of things should go on. (Cheers.) He did not know if hon. members attended those meetings. He had attended the last two, not as a sympathiser with the Suffragettes, but really to see what was going on. He respected the feelings of hon. members on the Suffragette question, but he did not believe any of them could attend those meetings without shame at what they saw there every Sunday afternoon. Personally, he viewed with alarm and shame the scenes that went on in the Park every Sunday afternoon. (Cheers.) What did they find there? Large armies of police. The Home Secretary had told them that the police were there not necessarily to protect the women, but that the necessary steps for protection were taken by the police present in the ordinary discharge of their duty. That was a very misleading statement.

Mr. McKenna: No, it is not.

Mr. Harold Smith: I say it is, and when the House knows the facts I will leave it to their judgment.

Proceeding, Mr. Smith said the first step the right hon. gentleman ought to take would be to proscribe these meetings, because they were a danger to the public and a great disgrace to the capital. The mob was gradually taking the law into its own hands. It had listened to these women preaching war on society and inciting people to join with them in the use of bombs and hammers and to destroy property, and the mob was now taking the law into its own hands. Had not the right hon. gentleman sympathy with those who suffered by these outrages on the part of the women? They had not forgotten that on one occasion Suffragettes attempted to set fire to a theatre which was full of people.

Mr. Keir Hardie: The theatre was empty at the time.

Mr. Smith: It was not empty. There were a good many people in the theatre at the time. There was no sign that these outrages were ceasing, but there was every sign that they were going on. Had the right hon. gentleman no remedy whatever to offer the House? If he retained the emoluments of office he must retain the responsibilities of office.

"Most Barbaric and Cruel"

Mr. Smith characterised forcible feeding as one of the most barbaric and cruel things that could be devised. If the right hon. gentleman had no other remedy than forcible feeding to offer, then he should try his great talent for failure in some other place, for his conduct was looked upon with contempt not only by those who broke the law but also by magistrates and police who had to administer it.

Mr. A. F. Whyte said the hon. member had talked of panic legislation that would only assist the cause of the militants. What earthly good would proscribing the meetings in Hyde Park do? It was a most futile suggestion.

Lord Robert Cecil

Lord R. Cecil said that things could not go on as they were doing at present. Some of the deeds of these women had been extremely serious, and unless some satisfactory solution were found it would lead to lynch law. (Hear, hear.) The Government were very largely to blame for what had happened owing to the way in which too much had been made of the earlier offences arising out of the technical disorders of the deputations, and too little of the crimes when window-breaking began. It was then that the Government should have reviewed the strength of the law, and, if necessary, at once have asked Parliament for additional powers. They should have used some imagination and realised the kind of people they had to deal with.

Continuing, he said that the militants could not be treated as ordinary criminals. Some new form of punishment or preventive measure should be devised. He suggested their deportation from this country for a considerable period. (Loud laughter.) He was perfectly serious. These women were insane, or, at any rate, they were not normal, and complete change of scene would be beneficial. Forcible feeding was not only disgusting, but utterly futile and indefensible. If the Government could not find a way out of the difficulty and uphold the law they must resign. He dismissed the idea of letting the women die, or re-arresting them.

THE HOME SECRETARY'S REPLY

Mr. McKenna characterised Mr. Smith's speech as unfair, unfrank, and lacking in courage. Accordingly, said the right hon. gentleman, he would address himself to the speech made by Lord Robert Cecil, who had charged the Government with having failed to uphold the law. In making that charge it was necessary for the noble lord to prove with precision that the Government had failed to uphold the law. The facts were admittedly serious, but the point was the extent to which the Government could be held responsible for them. Since the beginning of this year sixty-two women and four men Suffragette prisoners had been received into prison. Thirty-three women and two men had been released on expiration of sentence, payment of fine, or on appeal at expiration of remand. Twenty-one women and two men still remained in prison. Only eight prisoners, all women, had been released because they refused to take food and were incapable of being forcibly fed. The trouble in all these cases was that the prisoners were fanatical, and adopted every device to conceal the true state of their health from the medical officers. One Suffragette prisoner recently sponged herself all over with warm water, lay on her bed without any bedclothes during the whole of a cold night with no other object than catching her death of cold and dying in prison.

"Patience, Forbearance, and Humanity"

The Home Office knew by bitter experience that each individual case must be dealt with as it came, while exercising patience, forbearance, and humanity, and endeavouring slowly but surely to break the movement. Thirty-two prisoners took food in the ordinary way. If forcible feeding had been abandoned others would have been encouraged to resist. Of those in prison now eight were being forcibly fed, four with resistance. The evil was not, therefore, so general as the noble lord suggested. With regard to Lilian Lenton's case the prison doctor had called on her medical attendant, who agreed that his patient's symptoms could in no way be attributed to the presence of food in her lung, and that she was predisposed to pleurisy. The attacks on the Home Office were founded on nothing but hearsay, misunderstanding, and prejudice. He absolutely declined to let these women die, and in spite of the attacks made upon him he would continue on the same course. They were dealing with fanatical and hysterical women who no more feared death in fighting this battle than the Soudan savages when fighting under the Mahdi. As soon as the business of the House permitted he proposed to ask for power to licence out on conditions of good conduct, which power he believed would be effective.

Mr. Clyde said that except for a ray of light at the end, the Home Secretary's statement was not satisfactory.

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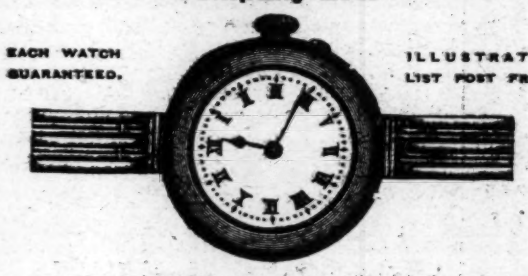

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1913.

ASKING FOR TROUBLE

The English people are fond of claiming for themselves the characteristics of stability and dogged perseverance. Whether these are in reality traits common to the race or peculiar to certain distinguished individuals of it is a matter of opinion. But few will deny to the sister people north of the Tweed the right to a similar claim made on their behalf.

The Scotch are not a race who jump to rapid conclusions. They are slow to be dislodged from a preconceived opinion, and are not easily moved by enthusiasm or eloquent appeal. But when they have once started upon a road they progress steadily forward, and only a profound conviction of error will suffice to turn them back.

For a long time Scotland was the despair of the suffrage world. Appeals to sentiment or reason appeared equally to fall upon deaf ears. Liberal-partyism seemed triumphant over liberalism. But slowly and very steadily all that has changed. To-day it is among the Scotch that the principle of woman suffrage finds many of its most persistent supporters. And Scotch men and women who have up to the present been ardent Liberals in the party sense are coming every day more clearly to see that the only road for their party to take is the road that leads to equality between the sexes.

The annual Council of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation have been meeting in Glasgow during the past week, and the question of woman suffrage has formed the principal subject of discussion, with the result that a resolution has been passed protesting that the facilities now offered by the Government are "an inadequate compensation for the pledge of the Prime Minister," and calling for a Government measure. This resolution and the speeches which were delivered in support of it by well-known party women provide food for reflection which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues would do well carefully to digest. They are a sign that the blind and unreasoning loyalty of women to party politicians is coming to an end, and that unless the Liberal Cabinet speedily change their tactics they will find that they have lost a devotion which they can never regain.

As we look back over the way in which the Liberal Party have handled this question of votes for women, we are struck with the extraordinary provocation which has at every stage been offered to women. The first great delinquent in this respect was the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who, in 1884, secured the defeat of a woman suffrage amendment by persuading his supporters in the House of Commons to break their pledges to women. There was not at that time, however, sufficient sex-consciousness among women to resent the indignity which had been offered to them.

The next important event was the refusal of Sir Edward Grey in 1905 to answer a direct question put to him at question time by two women in the audience, in consequence of which they were violently ejected from the hall. This led to the inception by a new suffrage society of the militant methods, including deputations to Parliament, interruptions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, and the anti-Government policy at by-elections. From all of these the Liberal Party suffered; but the new organisation was a small one, the older suffrage society did not adopt the new policy, and there was still left intact the solid phalanx of Liberal women who gave to the party their full support.

The next few years saw a continued succession of provocations offered to women who claimed their enfranchisement as a necessary embodiment of Liberal principle. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman told a deputation of women that though they had an irrefutable case they had nothing to hope from a Liberal Government. Mr. Asquith, after his accession to the Premiership, declined altogether to see any deputation of women, and persistently refused either to bring in a Government measure or to allow time for the discussion of a private Member's Bill. Thus provoked, many of the most alert of the women Liberals left the party. Some joined the older suffrage society, others associated themselves directly with the militant organisation and worked actively against the Government.

At last, after four years, in which many hundreds of women had suffered imprisonment as common criminals for purely technical offences, a way of compromise was suggested by which the Government might save their face. The Conciliation Bill—a measure scrupulously fair to all parties—was devised by a non-party committee in the House of Commons. Every section of suffragists accepted the compromise. Not so the Government. They blocked it in 1910. In 1911 they blocked it again, but promised full facilities in 1912, and Mr. Asquith undertook that this promise should be kept not only in the letter but in the spirit. Then came the great betrayal of November, 1911, by which the whole basis of the franchise was thrown into the melting-pot, with the result, which Mr. Lloyd George announced in memorable words, that the Conciliation Bill was torpedoed. The older suffragists and the Liberal women decided to trust the Prime Minister's honour, and still remained friendly to the Government. The militants at once saw the trick that had been played. They "demonstrated"; and because the treatment meted out to previous peaceful demonstrations had been brutal, they demonstrated by breaking windows.

Another twelvemonth passed. The Government's breach of faith of November, 1911, fructified in the failure of January, 1913, and in the substitution of the worthless promise for the following session. This time every one of the suffrage societies became anti-Government, and up and down England unrest has been spreading amongst the women Liberals. And now comes the resolution of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation to which we have referred above.

Step by step the Government have provoked these actions. At every stage they have made the counsels of moderation look foolish, and have justified, and more than justified, the predictions of the extreme party. Already they have driven militancy into crime, and the devoted loyalty of their women followers into disaffection.

How much longer are they going to pursue this disastrous course? Are they going on until every woman in the country is in active revolt? If not, they had better make haste and review their position, for women are determined to have the vote, either with the consent of the Government or over their politically-prostrate body. The only effect of continued delay will be to bring final disaster upon the Government and humiliation upon the country.

THE OLD PRETENDERS

A GIVE-AWAY STORY FOR M.P.'S

By Laurence Housman

The Old Pretenders had been playing the game for forty years and more. You may reckon, therefore, that they had become adepts at it. And as they had made the rules entirely to suit themselves, and not in the least to help those on whom they played it, the game grew more and more popular as years went on, till the players became a handsome majority.

Now the game was this. The Old Pretenders had got a fine, large house to live in and make laws in, furnished for them by other people. They were paid £400 a year to live in it and to keep it in working order; and they got cheap meals under cost price thrown in—and other people paid for those, too, some of them women.

Women? Yes, there you get the game; for these Pretenders, you must know, were the pick of the nation—a bad pick, no doubt; the men picked them and the women paid for them, paid their share, that is to say; and having paid it had to do just as these paylings told them.

Well, these paylings—M.P.'s, as they were called—had in course of time made such a mess of things—

"Paving the way with good intentions
To the place that no one mentions"—

as a certain poet politely puts it, that the women began to object.

"Look here," they said, "you with your laws and your taxes are interfering with us in our homes and in our work. You make laws which we have to pay for, your keep comes out of our pockets as well as out of the men's, and those mutton chops you eat don't come off your own whiskers, though you only give the price of a shave for them. Don't you think, then, since all this concerns us just as much as the men, that we, too, ought to have a voice in choosing you?"

And here is where the game began. For no sooner had the woman asked that question—which seemed so straightforward, and plain, and reasonable, and unanswerable—than there rose up a race of Pretenders—they were young then, they have become old since—who all cried, "Agreed!" in the most convincing manner imaginable. And having so cried they looked at the women and the women looked at them, and they smiled on the women benevolently.

"Well, that's handsome of you!" said the women. "You, at any rate, are a decent lot."

"We are, indeed!" said the Pretenders. "And now what will you do for us in return?"

"We will back you up," said the women; "stick to you through thick and thin."

"You couldn't do better," said the Pretenders; and they smiled more benevolently than ever.

That is how the game began. And it went on beautifully, and smoothly, and uncomplainingly for over forty years. It gave the Pretenders no trouble at all; incidentally, it did them a lot of good and saved them expense at election time, for it got the women to work for them.

You see now what a clever, simple game it was. But it wasn't cricket.

The women, not to be less good than their word, had meantime set to work, forming themselves into associations to give these men the aid and support they had promised them. And the names they chose for themselves—or some of them—were: "Fetch and carry," "Wait and see," "Believe only," "Creature comforts for kind candidates," and many other sanguine, sedentary, and peaceably disposed titles.

Then, once a year, or thereabouts, the Pretenders, all comfortably seated in that fine House of theirs, set up certain of their number to be spokesmen, and put it to their fellow members that as women were equally concerned with men in what they did, and paid their share for it when done, they too should have a voice in the picking and the choosing. And when the select ones had finished speaking, then all the other Pretenders cried, "Agreed!" and you really would have thought, to hear them, that they meant it, and were going to do something. But as soon as they had said their say and pronounced their agreement, the chairman gave a little tap with his hammer, just as one taps on a stone which has been well and truly laid in the place designed for it. "Next business," said the chairman, in a calm and casual tone, and to next business they went.

And all this time, behind the scenes, the women had been working for them. Away in the constituencies "Fetch and carry," "Wait and see," and the rest were doing wonders to secure the comfort, welfare, and popularity of their "champions," and to make their seats safe for them. And when other members, looking on, saw how the game worked out, they, too, joined the society of the Pretenders, and, promising to say "Agreed!" once every year or two, got the women to work for them. And thus it came about, at last, that the Pretenders found themselves in a large majority. Elections didn't affect them, they were the one party—if party they could be called—who always came back in full strength. And every year, when the question was brought forward, they continued to cry "Agreed!" and, having carried their point triumphantly—did nothing.

And so, in course of time, the Pretenders grew old, and their hoary heads became to them as a crown of glory. And they all remained very pious in their opinion, while still the women went on working for them, steadily and uncomplainingly, for that was part of the game.

And then a change came over the scene—a very sad change—which was entirely the fault of the women, for without a single rule in the game having been altered, some of them began to complain. They said that it wasn't cricket! "Who ever said that it was?" replied the Old Pretenders. "The rules of this game are entirely political; they are also non-party. And when party comes along, of course, that which is non-party has to give way."

"But you gave us a pledge!" expostulated the women.

"Ah, that meant 'Weather permitting,'" replied the Old Pretenders. "In fair weather we shall remain your friends and continue to play the game, as we always have done; but if our umbrellas won't stand it, then our pledges must go; that stands to reason, and experience proves it. You will remember how in 1884 our Grand Old Umbrella threatened to turn inside out if we paid any attention to you—so we didn't. A solid hundred of us broke our pledges to you, and you showed us very plainly that you expected nothing else, for you continued working for us. What right, then, have you to complain now? Do try to be wise, and take example by us. Observe how patient we have always been, and, as a result, what large majorities we have got. See how evident it is, when the matter comes to argument, that the other side haven't got a leg to stand on. Surely that ought to content you! Continue to fetch and carry and to wait and see, and faintly trust the larger hope, and all the rest of it! New rules can't be made all in a day."

But the women had, by this time, got it firmly into their heads that new rules could and ought to be made; and they set about making them without any further delay. They formed new associations, with new names, without coming to ask the Old Pretenders for their consent—a proceeding which, of course, annoyed them very much—it seemed to them a breach of the rules.

The "Fetch and Carry" changed itself into the "Catch and Harry," its declared object being to catch and harry all Old Pretenders who said much but did nothing. And wherever they went they "caught on" very persistently and effectively. Other associations also sprang into being, the "Weather or No" was one of them, the "Touch and Go" was another, the "Now or Never" a third; and many more followed, all bearing names of a like significance, daring, defiant, insubordinate, and very disconcerting to the powers that were. But the "Wait and Sees" and the "Believe Onlys" remained pinned to the party leading-strings, turning up eyes of unutterable trust and stupidity—and doing nothing, except what they were told—the odd jobs and the errand running, and the backstair scrubbing which they had so long been accustomed to.

The Old Pretenders beheld this change taking place, and they rubbed their eyes in amazement. "This is very unreasonable," said they; "and so precipitate—after forty years! We didn't think it of you; it isn't what we had been led to expect!"

The "Catch and Harrys" were by far the worst. Instead of helping the Old Pretenders any more, these women were now actually opposing them, trying to turn them out. Was ever such ingratitude known?

Then the Old Pretenders said something which I have to print in capitals because it is so important:—

"YOU MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO PLAY THE GAME!" said the Old Pretenders.

"Good!" cried the "Catch and Harrys." "Now at last we are getting on; now, perhaps, you'll *do* something!"

Now as the Old Pretenders had never intended to *do* anything, this offended them, but it also gave them furiously to think.

They thought furiously for some time, but to no effect. "Cajolery is lost on these women," they cried lamentably. "They have become unfeminine! Opposing us, indeed! How can they possibly expect us to support their cause now!" But as they spoke they caught sight of the "Wait and Sees" and the "Believe Onlys" sitting upon their doormats as patient and trustful as ever, and they settled to pretend a little longer, however difficult it might be. So to these faithful ones once more they declared the faith that was in them; and these women for their part did the same. And so in a sticky, streaky, and sectarian fashion the game still went on, and they continued to say "Agreed!" and did nothing.

Then the "Catch and Harrys" began to do worse things still, for they became not only "oppositious," but obstreperous—they became "militant."

And then once more the Old Pretenders said something which, because of its importance, must be printed in capitals:—

"YOU MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO PLAY THE GAME, IF YOU DO THAT!" said the Old Pretenders. And for almost the first time in their lives they told the plain, unvarnished, unadulterated truth. They couldn't any longer both pretend *and* play the game. In the face of militancy pretending was not a bit of good, they had now to appear in their true colours. Either they must *do* something or else they must own to all the world that for forty years they and their like had been telling lies in order to get the women to work for them. And somehow or another that didn't "do" either. They were always now coming upon that dreadful word "do." Hitherto they had always managed to combine it with other syllables which had given it another and a quite impracticable meaning, "Cock-a-doodle-*do*," they had been wont to cry when their other cry, "Agreed!" had proved successful. But now, under militant attentions, that word "agreed" also had acquired another and a more sinister meaning. The sword of militancy had struck it and cleft it in two. All that "Agreed!" now meant in their mouths was this: "A greed for power, a greed for office, a greed to put party above principle, a greed to have others work for them without fair return, a greed for £400 a year and dinners below cost price, to be paid for out of the pockets of the women." Cut in two like that it became a dreadful word, and the worst of it was *it was true*.

So, like the cuckoo clock which had lost its first note and could only "oo," these Old Pretenders were forced to drop their "Cock-a-doodle-doing" and to begin "doing" instead. In other words, they had to leave off pretending and become real. Militancy had made it impossible for them to pretend any more.

Now a thing which makes people for the first time be honest and tell the truth—must it not be good? It may not be pleasant or popular, but, like black draught and pills, it may be the only cure.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

We are pleased to welcome into the ranks of the Fellowship a large number of additional members who have joined during the past week. We ask them specially to concentrate upon getting new permanent readers who will either have the paper sent to them direct from the office by post, or order it to come regularly from their newsagent.

Now that the daily Press are using every means in their power to incite the baser sort of the public to assault and maltreat the Suffragists it is of more than usual importance that the true facts should be made known. Not one person in a hundred, for instance, whose only source of information is the daily Press, has the faintest idea of what really happened in the cases of Miss Billinghurst or Miss Lenton. The papers have given prominence to Mr. McKenna's deliberately misleading accounts, and letters on the other side and personal narratives from the victims themselves have been either suppressed altogether, or so cut down as to fail to carry conviction. The introduction of VOTES FOR WOMEN to a new reader is, as it were, the opening of a new door to the mind, by which knowledge may be gained and sympathy aroused.

Keep May 7 Free!

Members of the Fellowship are asked to keep the evening of Wednesday, May 7, free for a special reunion of fellows, fuller particulars of which we hope to be able to give later.

In the meanwhile, we wish all a very pleasant Easter holiday, and hope that they will come back refreshed for a vigorous campaign in the spring and summer.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To March 17, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	180	5	9
Mr. and Mrs. Shaw	0	5	0
Miss Pethick	1	10	0
Miss Dines	0	1	0
Miss Dalgleish	0	2	6
Miss R. Coudrey	0	1	9
Miss C. P. Coudrey	0	1	0
Mrs. Aldis	0	5	0
The Misses Collier	1	0	0
Leeds, on Sale of Votes	0	7	6
Collected by Miss F. Harris	0	8	6
Total	184	5	3

MILITANCY GOES ON

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, March 13.—On Wednesday night, after we had gone to press, a studio raided by police in Campden Hill Gardens; the owner, Miss Hocken, arrested; bottles of corrosive fluid, wire-cutting clippers, hammers, &c., seized.

Letters in large numbers damaged by fire in letter-box at Queen Victoria Street Post Office. Pillar-boxes also attacked near Law Courts and outside Mansion House District Railway Station; no arrests.

Friday, March 14.—Two windows broken at the Tecla Gem Company, Old Bond Street, value £90; one arrest.

Three windows broken at Messrs. Roneo, High Holborn, value £40; one arrest.

Names of several houses at Richmond obliterated during the night by black paint or tar, believed to be the work of Suffragists; no arrests.

Pot of green paint thrown at Home Office window, no damage; one arrest.

Bottle of corrosive fluid put in letter-box at Thornton Heath; several letters damaged. Label affixed to bottle stating that it was a protest by male voters against the treatment of women.

Saturday, March 15.—New, unoccupied house, value about £1,800, burnt out at Cheam, Surrey. Copies of Votes for Women, "The Suffragette," and a Suffrage postcard found near; damage attributed to Suffragists; no arrests.

Several pillar-boxes attacked at Bolton, bottles of ink being used; about 200 packets damaged. Contents of pillar-boxes also damaged at Newcastle.

Stones and leaden pellets thrown at Mr. McKenna's house, Smith Square, Westminster, no damage; one arrest.

White fluid put into pillar-box in Villiers Street, Strand; one arrest.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 13.—At the West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, charged with conspiring on February 26, with other persons unknown, to set fire to the Pavilion at Roehampton, Miss Olive Hocken; remanded in custody for a week. Bail in £1,000 subsequently allowed.

Friday, March 14.—At the Guildhall Police Court, before Alderman Sir John Savory, charged with breaking plate glass windows at the Roneo Company, Holborn Viaduct, value £40, Miss Isabella Irving; committed for trial, bail refused.

At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with breaking windows, value £90, at the Tecla Gem Company, Limited, Old Bond Street, Miss Margaret McFarlane; committed for trial, bail allowed in £100.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with throwing a missile to the common danger, namely, a tin of green paint at a Home Office window, Miss Marjorie Masters; fined 40s., or one month's imprisonment.

Monday, March 17.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Marsham, charged with putting noxious fluid in a letter-box in Villiers Street, Strand, Miss Eileen Casey; sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

At the Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Francis, charged with wantonly discharging missiles to the common danger at the residence of Mr. McKenna, Home Secretary, in Smith Square, Westminster, Miss Kathleen Nicholson; sentenced to a fine of 40s., or 14 days' imprisonment. The fine was not paid.

ARREST OF MISS HOCKEN

What was described in the Press as a "Suffragette Arsenal" was unearthed at a studio in Camden Hill Gardens, Notting Hill, on Wednesday evening, March 12, and following on the discovery Miss Olive Hocken, an artist, was brought before Mr. Fordham at the West London Police Court the next morning on a warrant, charging her with conspiring, combining, confederating, and agreeing, on February 26, with other persons unknown, unlawfully and maliciously to set fire to a certain building, viz., a pavilion at Roehampton.

"A Perfect Arsenal"

The arrest, it was stated, was regarded by the authorities as of importance, by reason of the fact that, at the studio of which the defendant was said to be the occupier, there was found a perfect arsenal of implements of destruction, including bottles of corrosive fluid, clippers for cutting telegraph wires, fire-lighters, hammers, flints, tools of all descriptions, in addition to a number of false motor-car identification plates, some miniature golf-links flags, &c.

Mr. A. H. Bodkin, who prosecuted on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, stated that he only proposed to call such evidence that day as would justify a remand. At the next hearing the case would be opened fully, and there would be adduced clear evidence connecting the defendant with the ownership of a bag which was found on the night of February 26 on the golf-links at Roehampton. The contents of the bag were of an inflammable character. On that night, continued Mr. Bodkin, two women were seen at ten o'clock by the groundman on the golf-links. On observing him they ran away, and in their flight one of them dropped the bag. The groundman picked it up. It would be shown that the contents of the bag belonged to the defendant, and came from her house at Campden Hill Gardens, Kensington.

Mr. Fordham: You say the contents were inflammatory?

Mr. Bodkin: Oh, yes, in more senses than one.

Chief-Inspector McBrien then described Miss Hocken's arrest, when she said to him, "I think I will be able to prove that I was not at Roehampton on that particular night." He took her to Notting Hill Police Station, where, when the charge was read to her, she said, "My mother will be able to prove I was not there."

Under the Explosives Act

Speaking of the search of the studio, Mr. Bodkin said: Did you make a search there under the Explosives Act, 1884?—Yes, sir.

And did you find there a large number of implements of all kinds?—Yes.

Including roping, pole climbers, and wire cutters?—Yes, and stones used for breaking windows.

Mr. Fordham: Particularly used for breaking windows? (Laughter.)

Defendant: Stones can be used for other things than breaking windows.

Mr. Bodkin: We will say stones adapted for breaking windows. (Laughter.)

Mr. Bodkin: Were some of the things under the floor boards?—Yes, the clippers were under the floor boards.

Mr. Bodkin: That is all the evidence I offer to-day.

Mr. Fordham (to defendant): Do you wish to ask the witness any questions to-day or will you reserve your cross-examination until next time—he will be giving fuller evidence then?

Defendant: I will reserve it.

Mr. Fordham: Yes, I think that would be best. Well, on that evidence, I remand you for a week.

The defendant, who made no application for bail, was remanded in custody till the following Thursday, March 20. On Friday Miss Hocken was granted bail after giving an undertaking.

HOOLIGANISM IN HYDE PARK

There were many evidences in Hyde Park last Sunday afternoon of the effect upon the hooligan mind of the many incitements in the Press to attack the militant suffragists. For upwards of an hour the members of the W.S.P.U., who were holding a meeting, were pelted with oranges, clods of earth, mud, and stones. The *Manchester Guardian*, in its account, says:—

"Before Mrs. Drummond and the other speakers arrived hundreds of youths had provided themselves with "ammunition." Others had come prepared with whistles, trumpets, mouth-organs, and hand-bells. As soon as Mrs. Drummond mounted the van to open the meeting a deafening noise was raised. Before she had uttered her first sentence a clod of turf struck her in the mouth. Mrs. Drummond merely smiled at her tormentors and continued her speech, while for half an hour the crowd shouted, sang, and pelted the van. Mrs. Drummond was succeeded by a lady who fared just as badly at the hands of the crowd."

When the meeting was closed the police made a passage for the women to get out of the park. The crowd followed, still pelting them. In Oxford Street the traffic was held up by the throng for nearly half an hour; and women recognised as suffragists were attacked and dragged about, and their clothing torn. One woman had her eye blackened by a missile thrown at her.

No arrests were made.

PROTEST BY PROMINENT CRICKETERS AGAINST PRESS INCITEMENT TO MOB LAW

Mr. A. J. Webbe, the old Middlesex cricketer, and Mr. Gilbert L. Jessop, the Gloucestershire player, have issued the following:—"Though we deeply regret the action of the militant suffragettes, we should like to make a very strong protest against the insertion of letters in the Press practically inciting the public to lynch, or at all events cruelly to illtreat suffragettes who commit offences against property. Over and over again have we seen articles in English newspapers holding up to reprobation the lynchings in America, though frequently these are in revenge for terrible outrages against the person. We are confident that the suffragettes are actuated by the highest motives, however much their actions are dangerous to the property of the community.

"If they are to be punished, let it be by the law, and not by the barbarous and savage methods of an excited mob. We know that we are open to the retort that these women escape serving their sentences by resorting to the hunger strike. We are of opinion that the suffering they endure by being kept in prison until they are so weak from want of ordinary nourishment and the torture of forcible feeding that their lives are in danger is a severe punishment that very few men would be prepared to face."

MORE INCITEMENT IN THE PRESS
Mob Law Encouraged

In spite of this manly protest which appeared in the papers on Monday morning, the Press has continued to encourage by their utterances the hooliganism of ill-conditioned youths.

The *Westminster Gazette* said in its issue of last Monday:—"There were further deplorable scenes in Hyde Park yesterday. Mrs. Drummond was struck more than once, and assailed with cries of 'Why did you burn the railway stations?' . . . We deplore these scenes of violence, but it would be affectation to pretend that there is anything to be surprised at in this retort in kind. The suffragettes are very fond of attempting to justify their violence by saying that they are at 'war,' the best commentary on which foolish metaphor is that their safety depends in no small measure on the protection of the police, part of the army against whom they fight, if there is really a 'war.'"

The *Evening Standard* of the same date, after a gibe at the women for accepting the protection of the police (for whose protection they pay rates like men), goes on to say: "Thinking people will be particularly glad the police were able to ward off even so much violence; for enough was done to give a hint of how much worse things might have been. Public passion is now thoroughly roused against the Suffragists. We are, it is to be feared, only at the beginning of the consequences. The women themselves will not be warned. They are as difficult to save as to convince. But, if anything serious should happen to any of them, it will be a grievous and most impolitic misfortune for the country."

A VERY SERIOUS VIEW

The *Globe* takes a very serious view of the situation in its leading article of March 17. After calling attention to the Hyde Park riot, and declaring that we "are upon the verge of a sex war," it goes on to say "there are two very obvious causes" for this. The first is, of course, the militant campaign of the women. The second is "the ineptitude of the Government and the apparent impotence of the law." And, it adds, "Not the least serious element in the situation is the deplorable fact that persons in a higher station, who should know better, are beginning to look, if not with sympathy, at any rate without disgust, upon the behaviour of the mob."

Remedies Suggested

The *Globe* article concludes by suggesting two remedies:—"One very obvious step is for his colleagues to persuade Mr. McKenna to exercise his talent for failure in some other department, and to provide the country with a Home Secretary who will have the courage to enforce, or, if need be, to reinforce the law. If the public could be assured that the punishments awarded by the Courts would be carried out, no matter what the consequences to individuals, the mob would soon cease to rely upon violence. Open meetings held for the purpose of enabling "militant" speakers to air their views ought, at least for the present, to be prohibited. No such meeting can now be held without imminent danger of a breach of the peace. In forbidding them while the existing excitement lasts there is no question of interfering with the right of free speech but merely of preserving public order. By prohibiting all such meetings the authorities would only be following the dictates of common sense. Something must be done, and that speedily, or there may be scenes of outrage and even of murder which will everlastingly disgrace the manhood of the nation."

Yet the *Globe* fails to mention the one remedy that will put a stop to the whole trouble— the Vote.

AT LAST!

Recent events have shown that the public's patience is nearly exhausted, while it is not to be doubted that reprisals will take a more serious form unless the suffragists drop their militant tactics. We can only hope, therefore, that the front benches will enter into some agreement with a view to restoring peace and order to the country.—**Montrose Standard.**

"APPARENT" GROWING HOSTILITY

It is difficult to reconcile the apparent growing hostility of the public to all forms of militant propaganda, even to the holding of public meetings by the militants, with the fact that the sum raised by the self-denial week of the Women's Social and Political Union is already far in excess of that of any previous year, when many thousands of pounds were received.—**Yorkshire Post.**

The above is a reproduction of a drawing by Miss Florence Stover, the well-known illustrator and suffragist, who presented it to the woman's movement in the United States.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 „
Mrs. Maud Brindley	„ „	5 „
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	„ „	3 „
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	„ „	3 „
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 „
*†Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
*†Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	„ „	2 months' „ „
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	6 „ „ „
Miss Jane Shortt	„ „	6 „ „ „
Anonymous	Mar. 4	2 months
†Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 „
†Miss Joyce Locke (Miss Olive Wharry)	Mar. 7	18 „
Miss Dorothy Barnes	Mar. 11	1 month
Miss Kathleen Paget	„ „	3 weeks
Miss May Richardson	„ „	1 month
Miss Dorothy Smith	„ „	3 weeks
Miss Grace Stuart	„ „	1 month
Miss Gertrude Vaughan	„ „	3 weeks
Mrs. Dove-Wilcox	„ „	1 month
Miss Marjorie Masters	Mar. 15	1 month
Miss Casey	Mar. 17	2 months
Miss Kathleen Nicholson	„ „	14 days

In Tullamore Gaol

*Mrs. Purser	Jan. 30	1 month hard labour (1 additional month in default of bail)

In Pentonville Prison

*Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

†Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

* Hard labour afterwards remitted. † Being forcibly fed.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

Information has been received to the effect that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who was sentenced on February 18 to two months' imprisonment for window-breaking, has been, and is still being subjected to the atrocious operation of forcible feeding. In addition to this she has endured *twelve days' solitary confinement*. Do our readers realise what this means? To be confined in a small, narrow, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated cell for twelve days and nights; to take no exercise, not even to go so far as the chapel for prayers; to be without intercourse with any fellow-creature except for an occasional word with a prison official; probably to be without books, certainly without any writing materials; and in addition to all this, to be assaulted twice a day and submitted to a torture that should be inadmissible in an English prison! It is a punishment that no one would give to a dog. Yet in Great Britain it is thought fit for a woman whose offence is that of demanding the rights of citizenship, and refusing to take "No" for an answer.

PRISONERS RELEASED

Another Hunger Striker Free

On Monday, March 17, Miss Annie Lansbury and Mrs. Moor, two of the Suffragists arrested at Bow and sentenced on February 18 to a month's imprisonment, were released at the expiration of their sentences. They were met at the prison gates by Mr. Lansbury and other relations and friends. Both women spoke of the fact that much prison food, which otherwise might have been quite good, was ruined by the way it was cooked; they hoped that their complaints about this had benefitted all the ordinary prisoners in Holloway.

Miss Isabella Irving, who was arrested on Friday, March 14, for breaking windows at the Roneo Company, Holborn, and was committed for trial, bail being refused, was released from Holloway last Monday, after a three days' hunger strike.

Correspondence has been passing between the Richmond Justices and the Home Office on the subject of the release of Miss Lenton.

On March 13 they wrote to ask under what authority the Secretary of State acted in ordering the release of Miss Lenton, who was a prisoner under remand from the Court, and received the reply that Miss Lenton's case was obviously one in which it was right to release the prisoner in obedience to the paramount duty of preserving life; had the Secretary of State acted otherwise *the woman would have died*.

A MONTH'S IMPRISONMENT—FOR WHAT?

On March 15 Miss Marjorie Masters was charged at Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, with throwing a missile to the common danger. Evidence was given that on the afternoon of the previous day, Friday, Miss Masters threw a tin of green paint at one of the Home Office windows; it struck the framework, and no damage was done. The defendant said she had taken up the challenge thrown down by the Government, and that about a thousand women had gone to prison in the same cause.

The magistrate remarked, "Is that all?" "No," said Miss Masters, "that tin of paint is my message to the Government for the treatment they have meted out to women with regard to their civil rights." In spite of the fact that no damage had been committed, a fine of 40s. was imposed, or in default one month's imprisonment. The fine was not paid. Yet there is no one in prison at this moment for throwing lumps of turf and other missiles at unarmed women who are demanding justice.

EMPTY HOUSE FIRED

About 2 a.m. on Saturday, March 15, a newly built detached house at Cheam, Surrey, valued at about £1,800, was gutted by fire. The house was still unoccupied. It was, however, practically finished, and was insured, and was said to be on the point of being sold. The fire gained rapid headway, and in spite of the efforts of two local fire brigades, very little but the walls of the house remain. The presence of Suffragists on the scene is suggested by the fact that suffragist literature, a woman's handkerchief and a postcard were found in an adjoining empty house. The papers included a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN, dated March 14, and two issues of *The Suffragette*.

PILLAR BOX ATTACKED—BY VOTERS

On Friday, March 14, a small bottle containing corrosive fluid was dropped into the letter-box at the Thornton Heath postal sorting office, and a fair number of packets were damaged. Attached to the bottle was a label on which was written in a man's handwriting:—

"Justice for women is demanded by a band of Thornton Heath voters. We mean to help them to fight against the damnably unjust and brutal treatment under which they are crushed. The brutality of forcible feeding makes our blood boil. We are a big family. Our watchword is 'Fairplay,' and we are determined to fight for our wives and mothers. One of the band,—(Signed) Tom Fairplay."

STUDENT INTERRUPTORS QUELLED

A point which has been strongly emphasised in our columns—that the portion of the "British public" who forcibly show resentment against Suffragists consists of young hooligans, office-boys, and students—was clearly demonstrated at Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting at Glasgow on March 13. The chair was taken by Miss Janie Allan, the Suffragist who was recently summoned in Edinburgh for her refusal to pay super-tax. When Miss Allan was introducing Mrs. Pankhurst interruptions were made from the back of the hall by Glasgow University students, who had evidently attended in force with the object of causing disturbance. Immediately some 300 men, including about fifty dock-labourers, twenty carters, and other working-men proceeded to deal with the disturbers. There was a good deal of uproar, and about fifty students were ejected, after which quiet reigned, and Mrs. Pankhurst was able to speak without interruption, the main portion of the audience having come there, of course, to hear what she had to say.

THE RIGHT APPEAL TO FORCE

What the "Daily Herald" Thinks

Following McKenna's noble example, the young bloods have decided that the women's movement can only be answered by personal violence. Very well! Then it seems to be up to ordinary working men to teach their "betters" a lesson in chivalry. We call upon the ordinary working men of London, men of brawn and muscle, who believe that women should not be assaulted, to assist the police in their duty of protecting the lives and limbs of the women. Wherever there is a likelihood of the Women Suffragists being subject to violence there should "Herald" rebels be to help the police. "Nuff sed." — **Daily Herald, March 18.**

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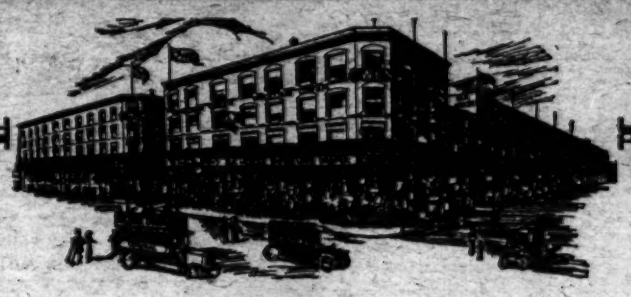

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TWO "LIBERAL" MEETINGS

WHEN IS REFORM NOT REFORM?

Apparently, when it is a Liberal Reform. According to the headlines in Liberal newspapers last Friday, "Election Reform" was loudly "demanded" at the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation General Committee at Birmingham on Thursday in last week. Woman Suffragists, though surprised to hear this, probably read on with some interest and curiosity—only to find that election "reform," as interpreted by the men's Liberal Federation, means more votes for men, without a mention of votes for women at all.

The "Election Reform" resolution, which was carried unanimously, expressed the hope that "at the earliest moment possible in the new session a resolute effort shall be made to pass through the House of Commons a Bill abolishing plural voting and restricting the vote to residence only, and declares that any failure to obtain this long-delayed reform during the lifetime of the present Parliament will occasion deep regret and grave dissatisfaction."

The Only Mention of Real Reform

The only mention of real Reform seems to have been made by Sir Arthur Nicholson in moving the above resolution. These were his words, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*:—"Whether votes would be extended to women was a question on which he refrained from expressing any opinion—(laughter)—but if women were not admitted to the franchise the responsibility rested upon themselves. For the bitter vituperation with which they had assailed even their best friends in the Cabinet and the atrocious methods of some of them outside had largely alienated support."

Does Sir Arthur Nicholson condone the methods by which the Cabinet are alienating the support of all *true* Liberals?

THE LONG-DELAYED REFORM

More "Liberal" Sentiments

"Any failure to obtain the long delayed reform would occasion deep regret and grave dissatisfaction." These words are not taken, as might be thought, from a Woman Suffrage resolution. They occur in an amendment adopted in order to strengthen the plural voting resolution passed by the Council of the Home Counties Liberal Federation at Tunbridge Wells last Friday. There was no mention of women in the resolution, although this was intended to deal with "anomalies in the franchise." But the question was not entirely kept out of the debate.

Miss Jessie Wilson, of Romford, said she did not wish to make a Women's Suffrage speech, but she did desire to ask Liberal men to be true to one of their foundation principles, that there should be no taxation without representation. And Mr. Frederick Allen, of Eastbourne, proposed as an amendment to add the words, "that one of the anomalies is the unjust position of women." He said they should not allow the question to be laughed out of court because certain militant suffragists had been driven by desperation to commit excesses.

Mr. C. Berwick further urged that they should do something for that large body of Liberal women who were not participators in militancy.

But when Mr. Schwerdt said he did not think that they should press for a Government amendment to their Bill, which their leaders had expressed themselves as unable to introduce, the amendment was negatived by a large majority, and the resolution was carried.

A Liberal Interruption

There were, however, some real Liberals present at this most il-liberal meeting. They were very dusty, and they came without tickets, emerging, in fact, from beneath the stage, where they had been concealed some fifteen hours, even escaping detection when the whole building was searched from end to end just before the meeting! One of them faced the platform with the courageous war-cry:

"When are you going to do something for women? We demand the Suffrage! Votes for women!"

The other ran up a staircase on to the platform and cried out to the amazed audience: "Stop the forcible feeding of women in prison! No peace till women get the vote!"

But if there is one thing more than another that Liberals in council cannot bear, it is to be reminded in this unpleasantly direct manner of their betrayal of their own principles. So the brave interrupters were ejected, and the proceedings were delayed until a thorough search had been made in the scenery. No others like them having been found, the strange travesty of a meeting then went on.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SUFFRAGETTES

Why Not Give Them The Vote?

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
March 13

Mr. Touche asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, during an attempt to feed the suffragist prisoner, Miss Lenton, the tube used was introduced into the trachea, thereby causing some of the liquid food to pass into the lung; whether Miss Lenton was thereupon released from prison, it being the opinion of the medical officer in charge that her life was in danger; and whether the doctor who examined her on her release found that pleurisy was present together with lung mischief?

Mr. McKenna: There is no foundation for the statement which has been made that the tube entered the trachea, or that any food passed into the lung, and I am obliged to the hon. Member for affording me an opportunity of giving the statement an emphatic contradiction. Miss Lenton's collapse occurred some hours after she was fed, and was due to the bad state of her health aggravated by her refusal of food. She resisted medical examination while in prison, but since her release, her own medical attendant has formed the opinion that she was suffering from pleurisy.

Mr. Remnant: In the event of this or any other lady suffering permanent injury from treatment she receives in prison, will the right hon. gentleman or the doctor who administers the treatment be responsible?

Mr. McKenna: I must wait until a case arises in which any person has suffered any injury from her treatment in prison.

Mr. King asked the right hon. gentleman if he is aware of recent pathological experiments made on patients incapable of taking food, which tend to establish the fact that dugong oil, if persistently rubbed into the pores of the skin daily, will keep the patient alive for several weeks; and whether he will use this method of treatment as an alternative for the forcible feeding of prisoners?

Mr. McKenna: I am informed that cod-liver oil has been frequently applied by inunction to infants to combat malnutrition, but with very doubtful success. In any case the prolongation of life by this means would be very limited.

Mr. King: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that since I put this question on the Paper I have received letters from gentleman attributing the saving of their lives to this process?

Mr. McKenna: I can quite understand that to be the case, but it would only be possible to adopt this practice where the feeding was required as a temporary process. In the prison cases it would hardly be sufficient.

March 17

Mr. Douglas Hall asked the number of police employed during the past three months in protecting militant suffragists, male and female, who have been publicly advocating and encouraging breaches of the law, and the amount of public money expended in so doing; and if there is any means whereby the money so spent can be recovered?

Mr. McKenna: No police officers in the Metropolitan Police district have been specially employed to protect militant suffragists; but where protection has at any time appeared to be needed—as, for instance, at some recent outdoor public meetings—the necessary steps have been taken by the police present in the ordinary discharge of their duty. It would be impossible to distinguish in this matter between suffragists who are "militants" and others, or to estimate the cost entailed on the public by attendance at suffragist meetings.

Mr. Norman Craig asked the Home Secretary by what authority he is enabled to direct the release of a prisoner under remand under conditions which permit of the prisoner being rearrested for the same offence?

Mr. McKenna: In ordinary circumstances, only the magistrates who have power to grant bail or the High Court have any authority to release a prisoner under remand; but in exceptional circumstances, where life depends on immediate release and there is no time for making application to the magistrates, it may be the duty of the Home Secretary to authorise a prisoner's removal from prison to home or hospital.

Mr. Norman Craig asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department in how many instances to date he has ordered the release of persons convicted of offences in purported furtherance of the Woman Suffrage movement before the expiration of the term of imprisonment to which they were respectively sentenced; and whether in any, and, if so, in how many instances the persons so released have subsequently been convicted again?

Mr. McKenna: I have only had time to ascertain the figures for Holloway Prison, but these include the great majority of such cases. Since the beginning of last year the number released from Holloway before they were due for discharge in ordinary course was fifty-five. Of this number eight are known to have been subsequently reconvicted.

THE LIBERAL SUFFRAGE BILL

According to the Political Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, the Liberal Suffrage Bill to be introduced by Mr. Dickinson is already drafted. "It follows," he says, "exactly the amendment which it was hoped to move on the Franchise Bill last session, with the exception that whereas that amendment was in consonance to the Bill to which it was to be attached and consequently contemplated a six months' residential qualification, this session's Bill will be in harmony with the existing electoral law. The Sub-committee of the Liberal Suffrage Group met on Wednesday of last week to consider the draft and the procedure to be followed. It is likely that the promoters of the Bill will approach the Government, and ask them at what time it will be convenient to give the opportunity promised."

STRONG LETTERS IN THE PRESS
"Not Good Enough for Women"

Miss A. L. White writes to the *Manchester Guardian* in very strong terms regarding the "Liberal" attitude towards the woman's question. In the course of her letter, she says:—

"If ever a party was untrue to its essential principles the Liberal party has been on the subject of women's suffrage. We who have left the Liberal party for the time being maintain that we uphold far more sincerely the true Liberal ideal than those who try to reconcile their suffragist principles with loyalty to politicians who oppose them. The fiasco of the Franchise Bill and the further device of leaving the question to another private bill have been too much for the long-tried patience of Liberal suffragists, and it is high time we spoke quite frankly and acted according to our convictions. Mr. Asquith, we are told, is before all things honourable. Well, his conception of honour is not good enough for women. They expect from the head of a Liberal Government more generosity, sincerity, and consideration than they have received from him, even if it is useless to ask for sympathy. The suffrage question must before long be seriously handled by a Government measure. The Liberal Government refuses the responsibility—a responsibility which belongs to them of right. So much the worse for the Liberal Government. The cause cannot be long delayed; it is of the essence of progress, and must in the nature of things prevail. But what of the party that has been untrue to itself? It does not perhaps need extraordinary prescience to see looming ahead those disasters which are the nemesis of neglected opportunities."

Another correspondent of the same paper says:—

"It has come to a choice between Liberalism and the Liberal party. We abide by our principles."

LIBERAL WOMEN'S EARNEST HOPE

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation the following resolution was carried and sent to Liberal members of Parliament in favour of Woman Suffrage:

"This committee (representing the largest democratic political women's organisation in the country) earnestly hope that every effort may be made to carry through the House of Commons this session a Women's Suffrage Bill on the lines drafted by the Liberal Members' Committee, which would enfranchise women occupiers and wives of male occupiers; but they ask Liberal members to bear in mind that the W.L.F. would prefer that, failing the passage of the wider measure, women occupiers should be enfranchised, rather than that the removal of the sex disability should be further delayed."

THE LL.P. AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE
Demand for a Government Measure

The report of the National Administrative Council to be submitted to the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party at Manchester on the 24th and 25th inst. points out that the campaign on behalf of the enfranchisement of women has been continued. At the last I.L.P. Conference at Merthyr a resolution was carried asking the Labour party to oppose further extensions of the franchise to men unless women were included. They are glad to report that this policy was endorsed by the Labour party at its last Conference in London. They were hopeful that the question would have been settled once and for all when it was before Parliament in January, but this was rendered impossible by the extraordinary ruling of the Speaker. The temporary defeat of the women's cause is regrettable, and they are distinctly of opinion that the memorable pledge given by Mr. Asquith could, in the present circumstances, only be adequately redeemed by the introduction of a Government measure establishing political equality between men and women. It is the duty of their branches to work towards this end. The largest and most influential of the suffrage organisations, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, has recently, continues the report, in respect of its electoral policy, drawn much nearer to the Labour movement.

"THE EXCEPTIONAL CASE"

In the course of the debate on Parliamentary Procedure in the House of Commons last Friday, Mr. Goldsmith said:—"It is only in *certain exceptional cases, such as Woman Suffrage*, when there is any doubt about a measure, that the man in the street takes the slightest interest in our debates and in our divisions."

In other words, the man in the street who is always being represented in the Press as thirsting for the blood of Suffragettes, is only interested in Parliamentary debates when they turn on the question that is being treated by the Government with contempt and being carefully kept out of the Government programme. What a reflection on the Government that the man in the street has put into office and allows to remain there!

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION
Welsh Women Treated as Doormats

An interesting sequel has occurred to the correspondence between Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which we gave some account in our issues of February 7 and 21.

On Friday morning, March 14, at 10.15, three members of the F.C.S.U., Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, hon. organiser, Mrs. L. E. Davies, hon. sec., and Miss Llewhellin, called at 11, Downing Street to ask the Chancellor for a reply to their letters of January 31 and February 17. They were left for some considerable time standing on the doorstep. Mr. Lloyd George sent out a message by his butler to the effect that he had nothing further to add to his letter of January 30. Ten minutes later the Chancellor, who has no time to keep his word to his fellow-countrywomen, was seen driving off in a motor-car with Mr. Masterman and his golf clubs.

The Union's Action

The following letter has been sent to him:—

"To the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Dear Sir,—We received your message from your butler this morning, and we write to inform you again that we cannot for a moment entertain your suggestion of our communicating with all the other associations in Wales, and forming part of a deputation composed of representatives from each of them, as they exist primarily for all sorts of causes, and our Union stands alone as the only Cymric Union which places the enfranchisement of women before everything else.

"The honorary secretary and I, who called upon you this morning, are starting on March 25 for a speaking campaign in North Wales, and from there we shall go on to South Wales, where meetings have also been arranged.

"As Welsh women, and in consequence of your promise of December 17 last, we came to ask you to give us a few minutes of your time (the time we were kept standing on your doorstep would have been sufficient), so that we could convey to our comrades in Wales some authoritative message from you that might perhaps relieve the present very grave feeling of tension and bitterness.

"We therefore hope that you will reconsider your decision.—Yours sincerely,

"E. R. Mansell-Moullin.

"March 14, 1913."

DO ACTRESSES WANT THE VOTE?

The *Era* claims to have asked the actresses of England to declare themselves for or against the vote, and their referendum has resulted in a poll of 244 in favour of enfranchisement, 326 against, and 845 "indifferent.'

Miss Winifred Mayo, on behalf of the Actresses' Franchise League, regards this poll as evidence of the inadequacy of the referendum as a means of ascertaining actual facts. For, she points out, the figures published would lead the public to suppose that some 244 actresses only desire the vote, whereas the Actresses' Franchise League itself has a membership of some 750 women, who not only believe in Votes for Women, but are actively engaged in working for it, and who include among them the great majority of our leading actresses.

All active workers for Woman Suffrage, whether militant or non-militant, are gratefully aware of the valuable services rendered to the cause by the members of the Actresses' Franchise League, and do not need Miss Mayo's interesting facts to assure them that her profession, like all those in which women are represented, do realise the necessity and urgency of the woman's vote.

MR. HARBEN AND THE HOME OFFICE

Miss Billingburst's Case

In reply to the published correspondence between Mr. Harben and the Home Office, which we gave in our last issue, Mr. S. W. Harris wrote as follows to the *Daily Telegraph* from the Home Office, on March 12:—

"I am desired by the Home Secretary to point out that you do not print the actual statements attributed to Mr. Harben which Mr. McKenna described as false and reckless. Mr. Harben was reported in the *Pontypool Free Press* to have made the following statements in the speech which he delivered at a meeting of the Pontypool Branch of the Women's Social and Political Union, at Pontypool, on February 3:—

1. That Miss Billinghurst was forcibly fed through her nostrils until they became so sore that it was impossible to continue that treatment;
2. That she was then held securely by wardresses while her front teeth were knocked out with an iron instrument; and
3. That this was done at the orders of the member for the North Monmouthshire Division.

Mr. McKenna can only repeat his description of these statements as false and reckless.

As regards Miss Billinghurst's own statement, from which Mr. Harben professed to quote, but which does not correspond to what he is reported to have said, Mr. McKenna described it as untrue for the reasons fully set out in his letter to Mr. Harben of February 26, which appears in your columns."

Mr. Harben's Reply

Mr. Harben replied as follows in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Mr. McKenna is attempting to shift the issue. I went to Pontypool for the express purpose of bringing home to his own constituents what was actually happening in English prisons under his administration. Knowing that there would be denial and controversy, I was particularly careful to keep to the letter of the document that I held in my hand, viz., Miss Billinghurst's own statement, which I had been at some pains to verify. The only point at issue is whether or not that statement is true, and those who have read the correspondence published in your columns can judge that point for themselves.

"Of the exaggerations attributed to me by a local reporter, I had already made an express disavowal which Mr. McKenna accepted before challenging the truth of Miss Billinghurst's statement; he cannot now shift the controversy back on to that issue."

What Miss Billinghurst Says

Miss Billinghurst herself supports Mr. Harben's contention in a statement sent to us, in which she says:—

"I wish to reiterate every word of my previous statement with regard to the way I was treated in Holloway Gaol. In my statement of the facts published in the *Suffragette* of January 24, 1913, I did not err on the side of exaggeration, but in that of restraint, for the sake of my comrades who were about to enter prison and adopt the hunger strike, but I state now, as I have already stated at a public meeting, that when Dr. —— and the doctor sent by the Home Office succeeded in forcing the feeding tube up my nostril, it caused me excruciating agony to eye, nose, and ear. I was deaf for a long while afterwards, and my nose bled violently. This is described by Mr. McKenna as 'experiencing discomfort.' It proved to be a useless torture, for they could not succeed in pouring the food down that way. The doctors who have examined my nose and throat since my release say that it was an act of great cruelty, for they say that no doctor would have dared to have forced a tube up such a nose as mine had they first examined it, but they had not troubled to make that necessary examination. Mr. McKenna also states that I was induced to take food from the feeding cup without active resistance on my part. My broken tooth will testify to the falseness of this statement.

"Mr. McKenna also states that the feeding-cup was used on other occasions whenever I refused food, 'until January 18.' I never voluntarily took food. On January 15 I felt took weak to resist their pouring food down my throat, and from January 16, at 12 noon, until January 18, at 11 a.m., when I was released, no food whatever passed my lips. As I see from the papers a few days ago that the medical officer had certified that my heart was weak, I can only conclude that I was released before my death would bring scandal to the Government!

"I should like to add that the whole process of forcible feeding is a torture both mentally and physically, and most degrading to those who perform the operation."

THE ONLY SOLUTION

The National Political League, in their manifesto concerning last Tuesday's demonstration in Kingsway Hall, placing the responsibility for the hunger-strike on the shoulders of the Government, go on to say: "Their difficulty, we admit, is great, for social disturbances like those which now prevail, cannot be allowed by a responsible Government. What, then, is to be done? A statesman would answer: 'Go to the root of the matter and remove the grievance.' But at Westminster, it seems, petty party struggle for useless party power has entirely obscured that insight into the deepest need of the nation which alone would enable those responsible to solve the great problem of the moment."

MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am intending to hold a meeting in order to discuss "Militancy for non-Militants" as soon as possible.

I have arranged for the use of the lecture room at my club, 3, York Street, St. James's, if a sufficient number of suffragists who are interested in this policy will join me. It includes withdrawal of all help, monetary and otherwise, from the country until women are recognised as citizens, and practically amounts to a national boycott.

Will those willing to help at the meeting (especially by speaking and sharing the expenses with me, which only amount to a small sum) write to me at 21, St. James's Road, Tunbridge Wells, stating whether they are willing to help in starting the Union?—Yours faithfully,

CHARLOTTE E. R. IRELAND.

THE SPIRITUAL MILITANCY LEAGUE

The Spiritual Militancy League, of which Lady Aberconway is hon. treasurer, and Miss Sauter, hon. secretary, Mrs. Stanton Coit being chairman, has issued the following manifesto:—

"We have banded ourselves together with the aim of concentrating attention upon the spiritual and vital issues involved in the women's movement. We fear that these issues are in danger of being lost sight of in the present struggle.

"We desire," proceeds the manifesto, "to unite all who believe that the supreme power of woman is a spiritual power, and from this point of view we would make a greater effort than has yet been made to awaken the imagination and rouse the conscience of the public as to the wrongs suffered by women, and through them by the community. We intend to resort to no methods of violence nor any action which may endanger life or property, but by concentration upon the ideal of social justice, by reliance upon the spiritual force which is at the heart of all progress, by perfectly peaceful protest, by extending the knowledge of the Women's Charter, and by working for the reforms it advocates, we will attempt to create an irresistible wave of public opinion in favour of the complete emancipation of women."

To the Clergy

A further letter has been sent to the clergy of all denominations, which runs as follows:—

"We are aware that it is the tradition of the clergy not to introduce into their sermons questions of social and political controversy. But there are times when some specific or general wrong (such as the white slave traffic or the exploitation of child labour) raises an issue not only of policy but also of conscience. We venture to suggest that at such times and in such issues an attitude of silence and neutrality is incompatible with the highest traditions of the Church of England. As you are one of those who are entrusted with the spiritual leadership of the nation, the members of the Spiritual Militancy League beg you to turn your attention, if you have not already done so, to one prominent issue of this character, namely, the political enfranchisement of women. Further, as we reject all methods of physical violence and depend wholly upon spiritual force, we feel that we have a right to look to you for counsel and direction."

The letter further says:—

"We are confident that it would be of untold advantage to the nation if you would instruct and inspire, on this great issue of the day, the men and women who look to your pulpit for guidance. And, even if you decide against us, we would ask you to make your reasons known, so that the public may benefit by your judgment."

Intentions of the League

We are informed that it is the intention of the members of the league to attend church services in accordance with one of the chief aims of their propaganda—the evoking of spiritual force to advance social justice for women, and the linking up of the women's cause with religion and the Churches. "We feel," says the League, "that there is little hope of securing the vote for women or preparing them for a moral and spiritual use of it so long as the 50,000 preachers throughout the nation by silence and neutrality create the impression that none of the higher issues of life are involved in the suffrage movement."

WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

The Committee of the above League ask us to announce that they have decided to admit sympathisers, who are not writers, as Associate Members to the ranks of the W.W.S.L. They can join the League in this capacity on the payment of a yearly subscription of 10s. 6d.

ANOTHER GOVERNMENT BLUNDER

A contributor points out an amusing error committed by the Government lawyers in preparing the writ which was served on Mr. Pethick Lawrence last week. £306 13s., less £11 13s. 6d., makes £294 19s. 6d., she says, and not £304 19s. 6d. What muddle-headed people these Government lawyers are!

COMING EVENTS

The New Constitutional Society will hold no meeting in Hyde Park on Easter Sunday. They will hold At Homes at their offices, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on Tuesday, April 1, at 3 p.m.; Miss Irene Cox will speak on, "Our Industrial Laws."

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union announce the following meetings:—March 25, at the Festiniog Public Hall, 7.30 p.m.; March 26, at the Llanderfel School Room, 2.30 p.m., and at the Cynwyd School Room, at 7.30 p.m.; April 7, at the Essex Hall, Strand, 8 p.m.

The Paddington Votes for Women shop, 52, Praed Street, W., will hold the second of a series of meetings on Friday, April 4, at the Shop, at 8.15 p.m.; speaker, Miss Amy Hicks, M.A.

The Church League for Woman Suffrage are organising a Spring Fair, to raise funds for the educational work of the League, to be held at the Rectory Road Hall, Stoke Newington, on April 17 and 18. Enquiries and contributions to be addressed to Bazaar Secretary, Mrs. Trafford Williams, 218, Evering Road, Clapton; or Mrs. Fleming Williams, 2, Holmbury View, Springfield, Clapton.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
23, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James's.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Gosden Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage ask us to state that they are now in their new offices, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. (Telephone 2500 Regent.)

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